

FROM THE ORGONE AND CANCER RESEARCH LABORATORY

## THE NATURAL ORGANIZATION OF PROTOZOA FROM ORGONE ENERGY VESICLES (BIONS)\*

Experimental groundwork for an understanding of cancer biopathy

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#### INTRODUCTION

The orgone was discovered in a bion culture. Thus, I shall have to begin this presentation by a description of those orgo-notic phenomena which take place at the borderline between living and non-living matter.

It is difficult to determine the date of the discovery of the orgone. Such orgo-notic functions as attraction, penetration, pulsation and lumination had already been observed between 1936 and 1939 and studied in various bion preparations. Yet, at the time of these observations, I was unaware of the fact that I was dealing with manifestations of the specific biological energy. The experiments with bion cultures led to the discovery of the orgone in SAPA bions in January 1939 and in the

atmosphere in July 1940. (Cf. "The Discovery of the Orgone." *This Journal*, July 1942.) It was only after extensive work on the purely physical functions of the orgone energy (1939-1942) that I understood the observations made since 1936 in bions and bion cultures. The presentation in my book, "Die Bione" (1938), was still based entirely on traditional bacteriological and biologicistic concepts. The later knowledge of the orgone functions led to many corrections. For example, I used to believe that the cultures of cocci and bacilli which develop from bions represented a higher developmental stage than the bions; later I learned that, on the contrary, they result from a *degeneration* of the bions into biologically sterile forms no longer capable of further development. The direct developmental continuation of the bions leads to integration into a protozoon. Staphylo-

\* Translated from the manuscript by the Editor.

cocci, streptococci, T-bacilli and rot bacilli are the result of a *degeneration* of living organotic plasma.

The following presentation of the bion experiments is entirely determined by the knowledge of the atmospheric orgone; thus, it is made no longer from a biologicistic, but from a functional energy point of view. Such errors and corrections are inevitable if one works in uncharted territory.

"*Bions*" are microscopically visible vesicles of functioning energy. The term "bion" means that the vesicles, into which all matter disintegrates if made to swell, are transitional forms from non-living to living matter. The bion is the elementary functional unit of all living matter. It carries a certain amount of orgone energy, which makes it function in a specific way biologically. It is a *unit of energy*, consisting of a membrane, liquid content and an amount of orgone energy: "orgone energy vesicle." In the following pages, I shall review the observations and experiments which have led to such far-reaching conclusions.

#### I. THE VESICULAR DISINTEGRATION OF SWELLING MATTER (PA BIONS)

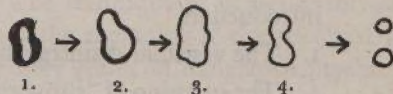
Carbon is the substance which, together with oxygen, nitrogen, hydrogen and water, forms the basis of the infinite number of organic compounds as well as of living matter. Let us leave out of consideration the well-known chemical reactions and simply observe a bit of carbon with a good microscope equipped with apochromatic lenses.<sup>1</sup> For this we can use blood charcoal (in my experiments that made by Merck was used) or ordinary soot. Since

the combustion of any organic substance results in carbon, its derivation makes no difference.

To begin with, we observe the carbon particle in a dry state at a magnification of about 300x. We see a black irregular body without motion. In the dark-ground, we see an essentially striated structure, interspersed with some vesicular formations. Where the striated structure and the vesicles meet, the light is refracted strongly.



Coal particle, dry



Development of a carbon bion

1. Thick wall of carbon, inelastic
2. Increase in fluid content, swelling
3. Membrane thinner, elastic; inside blue, vibrating
4. Coal bion in the process of segmentation

We then use a magnification of about 2000x (objective 80x, eye-piece 16x, inclined binocular tube). The striated and vesicular structure is now more distinct. There is no trace of motion.

We add a drop of ordinary water and observe again at 300x, then at 2000x. There is hardly any change. There is still no motion, except perhaps for an occasional round or irregular particle moving across the field; their size is rarely over  $1\mu$ . On the whole, the field looks "dead." We see no contraction or expansion.

Now we put a bit of fine carbon dust into a test tube with water. Part of the dust sinks to the bottom, part of it remains on the surface. The water itself remains clear; no colloidal solution is formed. The preparation is *not* sterile. Each consecutive day we take a drop of

<sup>1</sup> All observations were made with Reichert microscopes ("Z-Mikroskop") which allow a magnification of about 5000x. The delicate biophysical processes like expansion and contraction, vibration, radiation bridge, etc., can be observed only at a magnification of over 2000x and are best seen at 4000x. It is not a matter of visualizing finer structural details, but *movement*.

the fluid and examine it microscopically. We want to find out what changes take place in the carbon. It takes weeks before we observe a change. The individual spherical bodies which show some slight motion become somewhat more numerous. In the dark-ground, the larger coal particles, very gradually, show an increase in the number of round bodies within them. But the whole picture remains unaltered. Even after months, the picture is essentially unchanged. We are struck by the fact that there are hardly any air bacteria (the test tubes are kept closed with a cotton plug). Macroscopically, the fluid is unchanged; it is still clear.

This is the control experiment. The experiment, that of *producing coal bions*, takes place as follows:

Now we work with all sterile precautions. All fluids are autoclaved at 120° C., all dry substances and tools are dry sterilized at 180° C.

We prepare test tubes with 50% bouillon and 50% 0.1N KCl solution which are autoclaved. Then we heat some coal dust on a spatula tip in a gas flame to white incandescence. In this incandescent state it is put into the sterile fluid. The fluid becomes black immediately; only the heaviest coal particles sink to the bottom, while the lighter ones remain suspended. In contrast to the control experiment, we have obtained a *colloidal solution*. In the course of half an hour, the black turns into gray. For several (3 to 6) days, the solution remains colloidal, then it becomes clear; all particles have sunk to the bottom.

Immediately after making the preparation, we take a drop, under sterile precautions, and study it under the microscope, again first at 300x, in ordinary light and dark-ground, then at 2-3000x. The picture is entirely different from what we saw in the control preparation.

*The structure of the coal particles is predominantly vesicular.* Upon continued observation, we notice that small vesicles

of about 1  $\mu$  detach themselves from the margin of the larger particles and move about freely in the field. In successful preparations, one notices motility at the margins of the particles in the form of expansion, contraction and vibration. If we observe long enough, we see how the small particles undergo a change before our very eyes. At first they appear "rigid," with a thick and black membrane. Gradually, the membrane becomes thinner. On the inside of the particle, we notice increasingly a *blue* or blue-green shimmer. The vesicles become tauter and show more motility inside. Many of them show an undulating vibration of their contents. The thinner the membrane becomes, the more intense becomes the blue glimmer and the more vivid the motions. Soon—the same day, more distinctly the following day—we see movements of *expansion* and *contraction*. Nobody who has closely studied these preparations has had the slightest doubt as to the living character of the movements. One can distinguish movements *from place to place* and *internal* movements of the contents, displacement of the blue color and of the intensity of the light phenomena, protrusions and retractions of the content. *The vesicle pulsates in an irregular rhythm.*

We send a galvanic current of about 0.2 to 0.5 M.A. through the preparation. The vesicles move toward the cathode, i.e., they are positively charged. (The vesicles in the control preparation are cataphoretically immobile or only rarely and slightly mobile.) After several days, when the particles are no longer in colloidal suspension, the cataphoretic phenomena also become weak or disappear. That means that the charge of the vesicles is a prerequisite for colloidal suspension and for motility, as Pauli already had assumed. It is also a prerequisite for the formation of cultures (cf. "Die Bione," p. 54 ff.).

Experiments with biological stains (Gram, carbol fuchsin) show the follow-

ing. In the control experiment, with plain carbon dust, the particles remain black: unprepared coal does *not* react to biological stains. The *coal bions*, on the other hand, immediately react *positively* (blue with Gram stain). It can be observed, furthermore, that only those particles react which have already undergone a certain bionous development (thin membrane, increased fluid and blue color inside) while the undeveloped particles react neutrally like those in the control preparation.

We observe the stained preparation at 3000x with oil immersion and find that most of the blue vesicles, which previously showed a variety of shapes, have assumed a spherical shape. There is a striking finding: in addition to the large vesicles of about  $1\mu$ , we find much smaller, *red* bodies which at 300x were not visible. The smallest among them are at the borderline of microscopic visibility, about  $0.2\mu$  long. They are found in groups around the larger, round and blue vesicles and around unstained crystals. They are elongated, with a point at one end, like a small lancet. In the fresh preparation we could not see them, but as we shall see, they can be found alive in other bion preparations. Cf. fig. 2, p. 209.

As became clear only after extended experimental investigations, these Gram-negative bodies are of extreme importance. They are the so-called T-bacilli which play such an important role in cancer. More about this later.

*The bions, then, are biologically active forms, for—in contrast to the substance from which they originate—they react to biological stain.*

There are other specifically biological reactions of the bions. Non-living substances, examined by fluorescent microscopy, always show nothing but their own individual color; for example, coal black, sodium chloride yellow, etc. The fluoroscopic examination of the coal bions, however, shows them to be not black but *blue*,

just as a culture of staphylococci or any organic tissue. This is another proof of the biological character of the coal bions.

Before investigating other characteristics of the bions, we must answer the question whether the blue vesicles develop only from carbon or from other substances also. The basic question as to the nature of biological energy in non-living matter would be easy to answer if it were found in carbon only. But it is more complicated than that. The more substances one examines, the more inevitable becomes the following conclusion: *All matter, if heated to incandescence and made to swell, consists of or disintegrates into blue vesicles.* For example:

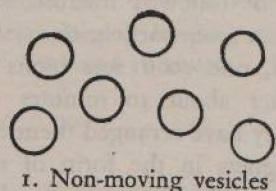
*Cooked foodstuffs.* Muscle, when cooked, largely loses its striated structure and consists of blue, moving vesicles. The same observation can be made in any kind of vegetable. The size and shape of the vesicles may vary, but the content regularly shows a blue glimmer.

*Egg yolk* consists of individual blue vesicles which sometimes are found in heaps surrounded by a membrane. Milk shows, besides the fat globules, blue bions. Similarly, cheese, in particular those kinds in which bacterial activity is of importance, such as Kephir, yoghurt, Roquefort; further, casein of any kind. *Vitamins*, if studied at 2000x, are shown to consist of irregular blue vesicles which refract light strongly. *Egg white* when raw shows no structure; when cooked, heaps of blue vesicles develop. *Blood serum* shows similar phenomena; the blood platelets and the white and red blood corpuscles show an intense blue glimmer.

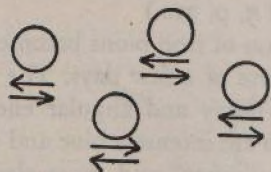
*Moss and grass* show a striated structure similar to muscle. If cooked, they disintegrate into blue vesicles. If one examines them, it looks as if there were algae present. One may ask then, whether the algae found in stagnant water are not the same as our bions, namely matter disintegrated into energy vesicles. Stagnant water is full of blue vesicles which serve as food for

protozoa. The bion experiments give a surprising answer to this question, which will be discussed in a different context.

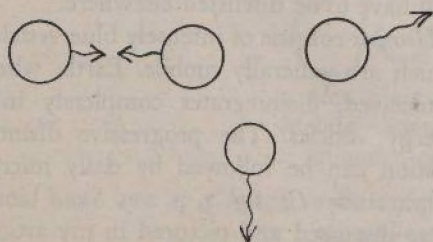
We try to find out more about the *mode of formation* of the bions. We bring together, in a definite sequence, certain substances which show no structure. First we make the following solutions: a) 100cc water + 50cc 0.1N KCl + 2 mg dissolved gelatine + 50cc filtrated bouillon; b) some drops of egg white in KCl; c) some fresh lecithine in KCl. These solutions show no structure; only the lecithine shows membranes enclosing a space without an inner structure. We mix the three substances. Within a few minutes, microscopic examination shows the appearance of blue bion vesicles. While previously there was no motion, now the field is filled with moving forms. The gelatine combines several blue vesicles into a heap which contracts and expands. It is as if the individual vesicles on the inside were trying to move in different directions and were thus producing the inner motion. Generally speaking, we can distinguish four types of motility:



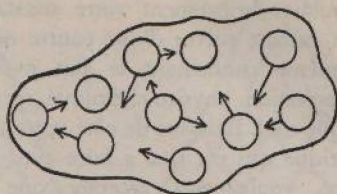
1. Non-moving vesicles



2. Vesicles moving but stationary



3. Vesicles moving from place to place



4. Heap of vesicles with ameboid motility, or "protozoon" (ameba)

*Forms of movement observable in bions.*

If we now add blood charcoal powder we find the development of strongly mobile coal bions. We see how the carbon absorbs the protein-containing fluid. The lecithine tubes which previously were empty now become filled with vesicles. The picture is all "alive." We autoclave the mixture. The motility increases further considerably. Now there appear T-bacilli. The biological stain reaction (carbol fuchsin, Giemsa or Gram) is now positive.

This is experiment No. 6 which I communicated to the Académie des Sciences in Paris in January, 1937. In January, 1938, Professor Lapique wrote me that the autoclaved preparation, one year later, still contained contractile forms with life-like movement. This seemed all the more surprising as the sterile preparation was sealed airtight. Professor Lapique's letter follows:

Université de Paris  
Faculté des Sciences

LABORATOIRE DE PHYSIOLOGIE  
GENERALE

1, Rue Victor-Cousin (5e Arr.)

Sorbonne, le 25 Janvier 1938

Monsieur le Docteur,

Chargé par l'Académie d'étudier votre communication du 8 Janvier de l'année dernière, j'ai d'abord attendu le film que vous annonciez. Puis, ne le recevant pas, j'ai examiné au microscope les échantillons que vous aviez joints à votre premier envoi. J'ai constaté, en effet, les mouvements d'apparence vitale que vous annonciez. Il y a là quelque chose de curieux, en raison du long délai depuis la préparation.

Je suis disposé à proposer à l'Académie

de publier brièvement votre constatation en la faisant suivre d'une courte note de moi-même confirmant le fait avec une interprétation physico-chimique n'engageant que moi. Laissant de côté votre théorie électrique qui n'a rien à faire avec l'expérience, voulez-vous accepter que votre communication soit insérée simplement sous forme de l'extrait ci-joint qui en réalité, est un résumé de la partie importante? Il me semble qu'ainsi vous recevriez satisfaction pour votre désir de voir vos recherches prendre place dans nos Comptes-Rendus.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de ma considération distinguée.

(signed): Dr. Louis Lapique

Professeur honoraire à la Sorbonne  
Membre de l'Académie des Sciences

*Translation:*

Sorbonne, January 25, 1938

Dear Dr. Reich:

Charged by the Académie to study your communication of January 8, 1937, I waited for the film which you wrote you were going to send. When it did not come, I examined microscopically the preparations you sent with your first report. I have, indeed, found the life-like movements which you describe. There is something surprising here, in view of the long time that has elapsed since the preparations were made.

I would like to suggest to the Académie a brief publication of your findings, followed by a short note by myself confirming the facts and containing a physico-chemical interpretation for which I alone would be responsible. Leaving aside your electrical theory which has nothing to do with the experiment, would it be agreeable to you to have your communication published simply in the form of the enclosed extract which, in fact, is a résumé of the important part? It seems to me that in this way your wish to see your findings published in our Bulletin would be satisfied.

Very sincerely yours,

Dr. Louis Lapique

I withdrew my permission to publish the findings in the Bulletin of the Académie, for the following reasons:

1. Dr. Lapique's chemico-physical interpretation would have completely obliterated the *biological* character of the experiment.

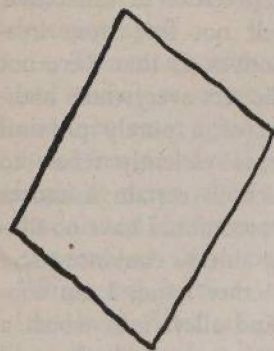
2. During 1937, it had become possible to make *cultures* of bions. This finding had been experimentally confirmed by Du Teil in Nice. Nevertheless, the Académie wanted to *omit* this all-important finding from the publication.

3. The résumé as suggested for publication did in no way render the extensive communication which I had sent to the Académie. The publication of this inadequate résumé would inevitably have led to misunderstandings and erroneous control experiments.

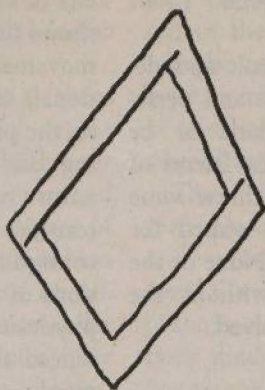
Among metallic substances, soft *iron filings* are most suitable for our experiment. We put some sterile iron filings into our standard bouillon + KCl solution and after only a few minutes we see small vesicles develop from the iron particles. This can be followed microscopically: if one puts an iron particle on a slide and adds KCl, one soon sees bions develop which after about 10 minutes cease to move. They have arranged themselves like small magnets in the form of magnetic force lines and cling to each other. (Cf. figs. 4 and 5, p. 210.)

A solution of iron bions becomes colloid in the course of a few days. The particles consist of heavy and angular energy vesicles which are intensely blue and continue to become "softer" and more elastic. The blue vesicles can produce cultures; this will have to be discussed elsewhere.

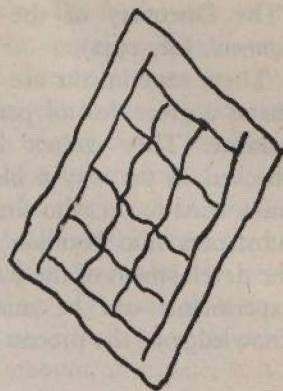
*Humus* consists of intensely blue vesicles which are generally mobile. Earth, when autoclaved, disintegrates completely into energy vesicles. The progressive disintegration can be followed by daily microscopic study. Cf. fig. 3, p. 209. *Sand* bions were discussed and pictured in my article



1. Angular form, showing, in the dark field, fine vesicular structure with striated arrangement.



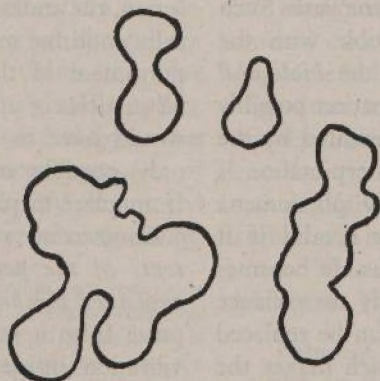
2. Appearance of marked striation with typical rectangular and rhomboid figures.



3. Softening; bending of striated structure.



4. Advanced stage of development into bion heap. The content between the structures shows intense blue glimmer. The heap already shows movement.



5. Iron filing bions of the PA type. Mobile, contractile, showing blue glimmer, capable of cultivation.

*Changes in the structure of iron filings in the process of swelling in bouillon and KCl.*

"The Discovery of the Orgone" (*This Journal*, July 1942).

These experiments are difficult and demand a great deal of patience and perseverance. They cannot be done or be checked in the way a biologist friend of mine tried to do who simply threw some substances into bouillon and waited for the development of the bions. None of the experiments can be made without the knowledge of the process involved.

## II. THE QUESTION OF "BROWNIAN MOVEMENT"

Before drawing definite conclusions from our observations, we have to clarify a few basic points.

The contention that the motion of the bions is due to a *specific biological energy* has been countered with the argument that it was a matter of "Brownian movement." Physics has known for a long time that the smallest colloidal particles are in motion, i.e., they move in the field in various directions. These movements have even been calculated. This "Brownian movement" is believed to be due to the impact of the molecules in the solution upon the larger colloidal particles.

That means, it is being explained on a purely *physical* and *mechanistic* basis. Such an explanation is incompatible with the manifestation of energy in the *biological* pulsation. Could this explanation possibly apply to the phenomena presented by the bion energy vesicles? An interpretation is valid only if it makes new phenomena comprehensible. It becomes invalid if it does not fit the observations. It becomes erroneous when it is strictly at variance with the observations and can be replaced by a new interpretation which makes the manifestations more comprehensible.

The mechanical "Brownian movement" is defended by the physicists like a dogma. True, such defense is justified in the face of mystical interpretations of the phenom-

ena of life. On the other hand, experience shows that the interpretation of "molecular movement" is itself not free from irrational, affective motives. If that were not so, the physicist who sees everywhere nothing but movement of a purely physical nature would not so violently refuse to consider facts which in certain instances contradict his interpretation. I have no illusions of ever being able to convince *these* physicists; on the other hand, I am convinced that the blind alleys into which a purely mechanistic concept leads will sooner or later force science to listen to new facts and arguments.

There is no doubt that there are movements of small particles which admit of a mechanistic interpretation. I believe myself that the movement of groups of vesicles the elements of which move but which are stationary (*cf.* illustration, p. 197) are not of a biological nature. Whether it is a matter of molecules pushing them to and fro I do not know, since I have never seen any molecules, no more than the proponents of the purely mechanical Brownian movement.

But let us, first of all, examine the requirements of a mechanico-physical interpretation. Since neither the particles nor the molecules ever disappear from the solution, the molecular impulses would logically continue indefinitely, and with it the movement of the particles. Furthermore, *all* particles of approximately the same size would have to be in motion. Third, the only possible movement would be that from place to place.

*Contraction and expansion of the contents of the particles cannot possibly be explained mechanically.* How could an impulse from a molecule outside produce a vibration inside, or even an expansion? We will subsequently get acquainted with a number of other characteristics of the bions which by no stretch of the imagination could be explained mechanically.

Observations made at a magnification of

at least 2000x,<sup>1</sup> reveal the following findings which do not fit into a mechanistic interpretation:

1. The movements are present at times and absent at other times. They appear and then cease again. Bion vesicles appear at the margin of coal particles or moss and begin to move when a sufficient degree of tension and charge is reached. Certain bion preparations show no movement at all. Where are, in these cases, the molecular impulses? After all, the molecules have not disappeared, and neither have the particles. And a third cause of the movements is not postulated by mechanism.

The conclusion is inevitable that *the external motion of the energy vesicles has something to do with their internal charge.*

2. The *internal* motility of many bions, their expansion, contraction, vibration and glimmering is a fact which cannot be explained by external impulses, but only by *internal* energy shifts. Thus, the *internal motility also must be a result of the internal charge.*

3. Bion research shows the living red blood corpuscles to be orgone vesicles. Observed at a magnification of over 2000x, they appear *blue* and show pulsation. Dead erythrocytes are not blue but black. They are immobile and no longer pulsate.

The motility of the erythrocytes can derive only from their internal charge, not from external impulses. With the blue orgonotic color the motility also disappears.

*The basic question of all biology is that of the origin of the internal impulses of the living organism.* Nobody doubts the fact that the difference between the living

and the non-living lies in the internal origin of the motor impulses. This internal impulse can be due only to an *energy* at work *within* the organism. The question as to where this energy comes from is answered by the bion experiment:

*The biological energy which produces the internal impulses derives from the very same matter which composes the organism.* Every living organism is a membranous structure which contains in its body fluids an amount of orgone; it is an "orgonotic system."

It may be added that the purely mechanico-physical interpretation of the motion of colloidal particles fails to explain a single one of the specific biological reactions. We have cleared ourselves of any possible suspicion of assuming a supernatural life force beyond matter and energy. We have established a connection between the energy vesicles and Einstein's *functional* theory of matter and energy. We have observed some basic processes which indicate the manner in which the orgone derives from matter, specifically, the processes of disintegration of matter and the swelling of the disintegrating particles. *These processes contain the solution of the riddle of living functioning.* The fundamental objective functions of biological energy are identical with the fundamental functions of living matter. The fundamental functions of highly developed organisms are the same as those of the smallest bit of contractile plasm. Any mechanistic or chemical concept must inevitably fail here. For it is not a matter of substances but of biological energy *functions*. This is also the opinion of many biologists. Thus, Üxküll writes:

Modern animal biology owes its existence to the introduction of physiological experimentation into the study of lower animals. This extension of the field of study did not fulfill the physiologists' expectations. . . . The reduction of the phenomena of life to physical and chemical

<sup>1</sup> This is the absolute minimum requirement; a more rigid requirement for conclusive observations is 3-4000x. Another absolute requirement is observation of the *living* preparation, not the dead, stained one. The Copenhagen biologist A. Fischer got quite upset and became unpleasant when he was unable to produce a magnification of over 1500x and I insisted on it if anybody were to consider himself qualified to judge my findings. The Giemsa stain of the bions, done at his Institute in 1936, was positive.

processes did not lead one step further . . . in the eyes of those scientists who see the essence of biology in the life process itself and not in its reduction to chemistry, physics or mathematics. ("Umwelt und Innenwelt der Tiere," Berlin, Springer, 1921, p. 2.)

### III. THE T-BACILLI

In connection with the coal bion experiment, I mentioned the demonstration of very small, lancet-shaped bodies by Gram stain. These bodies were termed T-bacilli (T from *Tod* = death) because they have a twofold connection with the process of dying:

a) *T-bacilli originate from degeneration and putrid disintegration of living or non-living protein.*

b) *Injected into mice in high doses, they will kill the animals within 24 hours.*

If cultures of staphylococci on agar are left standing for a considerable period of time, there develops around the culture a *greenish margin* which, against the light, shows a *bluish glimmer*. It has a tendency to spread. At the beginning we made sure that we had a pure culture of staphylococci. If, weeks or months later, we take a sample from the bluish-green margin, we find only a very few cocci, but we find the field swarming with very small bacilli with a very lively zigzag motion. They are about 0.2 to 0.5  $\mu$  long and, observed at a magnification of at least 2000x, show a slightly oval shape. Cf. fig. 6, p. 210. Inoculated on bouillon, they give a culture fluid with a strong bluish-greenish glimmer and a strong acid and ammonia smell. The longer the bouillon culture stands the denser it becomes and the more intensely blue or green-blue. Cultures of rot bacteria (*B. proteus*), *subtilis* or staphylococci (cf. fig. 7, p. 210) agglutinate after a few days, either at the bottom of the test tube or in the form of a membrane at the surface. In contrast, cultures of T-bacilli never agglutinate. If the culture is a mixture, all

other bacilli agglutinate, while the T-bacilli continue to live.

T-bacilli can be obtained through degeneration of any kind of protein substance. Thus far, T-bacilli cultures of identical form and reaction have been produced from 15 different sources. *T-bacilli, then, are the result of degenerative putrid processes in tissues.* Following are some of the sources of T-bacilli:

*Blood of cancer patients:* T-bacilli can be cultivated from the blood of advanced cancer patients by simple inoculation on bouillon. This is one of the essential cancer tests in our laboratory.

*Cancer tissues:* Any kind of cancer tissue, fresh or old, shows T-bacilli on microscopic examination and gives T-bacilli cultures in bouillon or on agar. If boiled, it disintegrates almost completely into T-bodies with their characteristic red Gram reaction.

*Precancerous cells and tissues* also give T-bacilli, that is, they disintegrate into T-bacilli or already contain them fully developed. Epithelium of vagina, of the tongue, the skin, or from sputum normally shows no structure. If precancerous, they show in the dark-ground extremely small T-bodies. If KCl is added, T-bacilli come out of the tissue.

*Degenerating blood (experiment):* 2 to 3 cc of blood are spread out on a sterile Petri disk and dried for 24 hours in the incubator. This is dusted with blood charcoal which has been heated to incandescence. After another 24 hours a sufficient amount of KCl and bouillon is added to cover the substance. Microscopic examination and biological stain reaction immediately demonstrate the presence of T-bacilli. This experiment will have to be evaluated in a different context.

T-bacilli, no matter what their origin, produce in healthy mice cancerous, destructive and infiltrating growths. This aspect of the bion experiment will be discussed separately elsewhere. Here, I only

wish to point out the biologically important reactions which have to do with the orgone problem.

In making bion preparations, one always obtains two types of bions: The blue PA bions<sup>1</sup> described above, and the small black T-bacilli. These two types are biologically antagonistic: *The blue PA bions are capable of killing or immobilizing the black T-bacilli.* This takes place in the drop under the microscope as well as in the experimental animal. Cf. fig. 8, p. 211.

We put a drop of solution of earth, iron or coal bions on a hanging drop slide and add a small drop of a T-bacilli culture. Observation at 400x in the dark-ground, or better at 2000x in ordinary light reveals the following: T-bacilli which are in the neighborhood of blue bions show a restless activity, they turn round and round,

then remain, with trembling movements, in one and the same spot, and finally become immobile. As time goes on, more and more T-bacilli conglomerate around the blue bions: they agglutinate. The "dead" T-bacilli seem to attract and to kill the still living ones. This fact was the starting point of the orgone therapy experiments in cancer.

The same thing happens with the subtilis and proteus bacilli which are about 5 to 8 times the size of the T-bacilli. In them, the killing effect of the blue bions can be observed even more easily. Finally, the whole field is covered with dead bacilli.

From January 1937 to January 1939, injection experiments with PA bions and T-bacilli were carried out in 178 healthy mice. The result is shown in the following table:

Injection	Number of mice	Dead in 1 week	Dead in 15 months	Sick after 15 months	Healthy after 15 months
T-bacilli	84	30	30	24	0
PA bions, then T-bacilli	45	0	9	..	36
PA bions	39	0	0	..	39
T-bacilli, then PA bions	10	0	8 (two killed)	..	0

Of the 30 T-mice which died within 15 months, 25 were examined thoroughly for cancerous growths. 7 mice showed ameboid cancer cells in various tissues, 13 showed destructive, infiltrative growths of a cancerous character, the remaining 5 had chronic inflammatory growths. Those mice which survived the T-bacilli injection the longest time showed the most advanced cancer growths.

The connection between T-bacilli and cancer disease is of decisive importance; it will be discussed elsewhere.

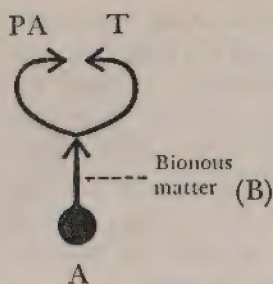
The significance of these experimental

findings for the evaluation of the orgone energy is the following:

1. *Theoretical:* We find, at the basis of living functioning, at the borderline between non-living and living, a function which is fully identical with our generally valid diagram of biological functioning: *All living functioning follows the law of the dissociation of the unitary and the functional antithesis and unity of the dissociation.*

From the non-living matter A orgone-containing mobile bions B develop. These bions dissociate into two groups, the PA group and the T group. *These two groups have an antithetical relationship: the PA*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. fig. 1, facing p. 128, July issue, and figs. 1, 3, 5, and 9, p. 209 ff.



*bions paralyze the T bions.* This fact, considering our knowledge of the physical function of the orgone, admits of but one interpretation: *The PA bions are fully developed, highly charged orgone units. The T bions, on the other hand, represent products of degeneration, they develop when tissues, cells or bacteria begin to lose their orgone charge.* They contain only very small amounts of orgone, they are very weak organotic systems. Since—as will be shown elsewhere from a purely physical standpoint—the stronger organotic system always attracts the weaker one and withdraws its charge, the fact that the PA paralyze the T finds its simple explanation. That is, the biophysical functional relationship between the PA and the T can be deduced from the purely physical functions of the orgone.

2. *Practical:* The T develop either through *degeneration*, in other words, through orgone loss in more highly developed forms, or through *primary insufficient development of free orgone* within an energy vesicle.

Thus far, T-bacilli have been produced in my laboratory through degeneration of the following tissues and bion preparations: dried blood, dried feces, autoclaved cancer tissue, autoclaved egg medium, which was dusted with charcoal and to which KOH was added, epithelium from the tongue which had been damaged by bridgework, degenerated vaginal epithelium, degenerated spermatozoa, degenerated rot bacteria, coal bion preparations of various kinds, from egg medium through the effect of potassium cyanide, and others.

The deficient orgone content of the T-bacilli manifests itself in a very peculiar fact which might well be described as “orgone hunger.” It can be demonstrated in the following manner:

We filtrate blood which we have diluted about 10 times with normal KCl solution. A Berkefeld filter with pores of less than  $0.25\ \mu$  prevents any possibly present T-bacilli from getting into the serum. Microscopic examination at 2-4000x shows only fluid and the complete absence of any structures. We add to the serum a tiny drop of a culture of T-bacilli which is *pure*, that is, it contains no PA bions. Within the course of a few minutes, we witness a spectacle which is extremely exciting and which, in all probability, contains the secret of the “immune bodies” in the serum:

At first we see only T-bacilli move around in the field. But soon there appear, here and there, large blue vesicles with a membrane, around which more and more T-bacilli group themselves, just as in a mixture of PA and T. The T seem to have given rise to the formation of the blue PA bions in the serum; a control serum without T does not contain any PA. The PA, once formed, have a paralyzing effect on the T which begin to agglutinate.

Now another, even more peculiar process sets in. The heap of agglutinated T is black; it does not show any trace of blue. But in the course of a quarter hour or half hour *this black, dead heap begins to assume an intense blue color and to form membranous vesicles.* These are again nothing but PA bions. The dead T have withdrawn orgone from the serum and have developed into PA bions.

These two phenomena are as yet not fully explored. They are connected on the one hand with immunity and on the other hand with the formation of vesicular structures or vesicular disintegration in tissues which come in contact with T-bacilli.

If one applies T-bacilli under the skin of a healthy mouse, one finds after a few

days an inflammatory, non-purulent swelling; microscopically, this is shown to consist of vesicularly disintegrated tissue. Similarly, epithelial cells of cancer patients first disintegrate into T, after which abundant blue PA bions develop in the surroundings.

I shall interrupt here the description of these observations on the body orgone; further investigations will show of what conclusions they admit. At any rate, there is no doubt that the *T-bacilli lead to bionous tissue disintegration* and that *cancer cells organize themselves from bionously disintegrated tissue* in the same manner in which amebae and other protozoa develop from moss bions.

#### THE T BLOOD TEST

The biological vigor (functioning power) of a cell is determined neither by its structure nor by its chemical composition. The disintegration of structure and of chemical constitution are the *results* and not the causes of the *biological disintegration*. For the structure as well as the biochemical equilibrium of the cell are themselves expressions of its biological functioning capacity. The biological function itself has hitherto been a mystery. The orgonotic charge of the cell makes it possible for us to determine the biological functioning capacity experimentally.

The red blood corpuscles (erythrocytes) of two individuals may be the same structurally and chemically and yet differ sharply in their biological functioning. Microscopic examination may show exactly the same form; the number of the erythrocytes and their hemoglobin content may be normal and the same in both individuals.

Now, let us expose samples of the blood to the same destructive influence. We autoclave a few drops of the blood in bouillon and KCl solution for  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour at  $120^{\circ}$  C. and 15 lbs. steam pressure. Micro-

scopic examination may reveal widely different findings. The autoclaved blood of the one individual has disintegrated into large blue vesicles, while the blood of the other individual shows no blue vesicles but only T-bacilli. Gram stain shows the same differentiation: the one blood gives blue, Gram-positive vesicles (*cf.* fig. 9, p. 212), the other red, Gram-negative T-bacilli (*cf.* fig. 6, p. 210). This allows the following conclusion:

The one blood sample points to a strong orgonotic charge of the erythrocytes. After autoclavation, this charge shows itself in the blue bions ("*B reaction*"). The other blood sample points to a weak or minimal orgone charge of the erythrocytes. After autoclavation, this lack of charge shows itself in the absence of blue bions and in the presence of T-bacilli, the result of degeneration of the erythrocytes ("*T reaction*").

*The T reaction is typical of advanced cancer patients* in whom the orgone of the blood has been used up in the struggle against the systemic disease (cancer biopathy) and the local tumor. The T reaction is often present *before* any symptoms of anemia and can betray the cancer process long before the development of a palpable or visible cancer tumor.

Conversely, orgone-weak erythrocytes take up orgone avidly when it is introduced into the organism in the orgone accumulator. We find then that the autoclavation test reveals a disappearance of the T reaction and its replacement by the B reaction.<sup>1</sup> That is, the erythrocytes become more resistant to autoclavation; they contain more orgone.

*The erythrocytes can be charged by the atmospheric orgone* (the effects of the orgonotic sun radiation is based on the same principle). This can be checked experimentally. We mix on a microscopic slide biologically (i.e., orgonotically)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "The carcinomatous shrinking biopathy." *This Journal*, July 1942.

weak blood with rot bacteria or T-bacilli. Due to the weak charge of the blood, it does not kill or agglutinate the bacteria and T-bacilli. If, now, we charge the organism orgonotically (the amount of charge can be judged by the autoclavation test), we find that the blood has acquired a strong capacity to paralyze and kill the same pathogenic micro-organisms. The same phenomena can be observed with smaller protozoa which are not damaged by orgonotically weak blood but are paralyzed by strongly charged blood.

*The erythrocyte is a tiny orgonotic system* which contains within its membrane a certain amount of orgone. If observed at 4000x the erythrocytes show an intense blue glimmer; their contents show a strong vibration; they expand and contract; in other words, they are not rigid as is commonly assumed. They carry the atmospheric orgone from the lungs to the various tissues. The connection between atmospheric oxygen and orgone can as yet only be guessed at. Whether the orgone is identical with the chemical particles of the air or basically different is an open question.

The orgonotic charge of the erythrocytes is also expressed in their shape and structure. Poorly charged cells are more or less shrunken and have a narrow margin of blue which is not intense. When the organism is charged, the erythrocytes fill out, the blue margin becomes intense and wide, sometimes extending over the whole cell. No pathogenic micro-organism can exist in the proximity of such strongly charged erythrocytes.

What the immunity to infectious diseases, colds, etc., has to do with this is still obscure; but it should not be difficult to find out the connection. In all probability, the degree of orgonotic charge of tissues and blood cells determines the degree of susceptibility to infections, that is, the so-called "disposition."



*weak*

Orgone margin narrow  
Blue color weak  
Membrane often shrunken  
("poikilocytosis")



*strong*

Orgone margin wide  
Blue color intense

*Erythrocytes with weak and strong  
orgonotic charge  
(as seen at 4500x)*

That it is the orgone charge of the erythrocytes which exerts a killing effect on protozoa and bacteria is shown by the fact that in the process of killing the pathogenic micro-organisms, the erythrocytes gradually lose their blue color, become black and sometimes disintegrate into T-bodies. The examination of cancer tissue in treated mice shows that the charged erythrocytes penetrate into the cancer tissue which, in their proximity, disintegrates into immobile T-bodies. But we no longer see any erythrocytes, only T-bodies. The cancer tumor shows cavities which on microscopic examination (dark-ground, 3-400x) are shown to be filled with T-bodies. Macroscopically, the content of the cavities is first blood-red, then becomes progressively rust brown, owing to the hemosiderin from the disintegrated erythrocytes. The latter have lost their biological charge. The typical secondary anemia of cancer patients is the expression of the fact that the biological energy of the blood has been used up in the fight against the T-bacilli and the cancer cells.

This will be discussed in detail in an article concerning the cancer experiments. Here, we were only interested in how the orgonotic charge of the blood cells acts

under various conditions. Summarizing, we can say that *the strongly orgone-charged erythrocytes act upon bacteria and small protozoa just like bions, e.g., of earth, iron or coal.* Since they are formed in the bone marrow, we must assume that the bone marrow has the ability constantly to create new bions. The organization of energy vesicles is a basic characteristic of animal and plant tissue. These facts underlie the orgone therapy experiments in cancer: *By introducing orgone from the outside, we relieve the organism of the burden of having to use up its own orgone in the fight against the disease.* This is a further proof of the identity of atmospheric and organismic orgone (= "biological energy").

The experiment shows the following:

1. An infusion of grass develops no or only a very few protozoa if it is kept in the orgone accumulator from the beginning. Apparently, the orgone charges the grass tissue and prevents its disintegration into protozoa.

2. Fully developed protozoa are not killed in the orgone accumulator.

3. T-bacilli are not killed in the orgone accumulator, but the blood of cancer patients becomes free of T-bodies if the patient has been orgone-irradiated intensely.

#### IV. LUMINATION (*Erstrahlung*) AND ATTRACTION

That animal blood radiates is a well-known fact, first pointed out by Gurwitsch, I think. Since, in the light of orgone biophysics, the erythrocytes are nothing but orgone energy vesicles, it is important to demonstrate the radiation microscopically. One of its main characteristics—as we find out in the field of pure orgone physics—is the "orgonotic attraction" which has nothing to do with iron magnetism. In the following, I shall describe some of the experiments which allow the observation of orgonotic attraction; they all have in common the procedure of microscopically ob-

serving the mixture of different kinds of bions in the usual bouillon plus KCl solution.

The killing and agglutination of bacteria by various bions, is, from the point of view of energy, nothing but *an attraction with consecutive withdrawal of orgone by the stronger orgonotic system, the bion.* In mixing various kinds of bions, we become acquainted with other important effects of the orgone energy.

Let us try first a sterile mixture of *erythrocytes and earth bions.* We need no more than a drop of diluted blood and of earth bion solution diluted sufficiently to make the observation of each individual bion feasible. Below 2000x no results can be expected. However, a good 80x apochromatic object lens with a 16x eye-piece in a microscope with inclined binocular tube are sufficient.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE RADIATING BRIDGE BETWEEN TWO ORGONOTIC SYSTEMS

At first, the earth bions and the erythrocytes move individually by themselves. Gradually, however, they begin to group themselves, usually in such a manner that several erythrocytes collect around a large earth bion and come closer and closer, until they touch each other. Then, an intense radiation sets in where they touch each other. In places where the bodies are not touching each other directly, but are at a distance of about 0.5 to 1  $\mu$ , there develops *a strongly radiating bridge between the earth bion and the erythrocyte* which seems to connect the two. This bridge

<sup>1</sup> The use of a special water immersion lens which simply is put into the solution is recommended. The mechanical disturbances disappear almost immediately. The metal has no effect, for the phenomena are the same if looked at with a cover glass. However, working with direct water immersion is more convenient and quicker. Cover glasses are inconvenient anyhow at this magnification and with the necessary use of hanging drop slides, because they break too easily. Every kind of control shows that the immersion of the object lens into the solution produces no disturbance of any kind.

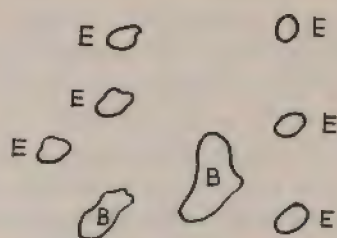
shows intense vibration and is alternately wider and narrower. Finally, the membrane between the two bodies is less sharply defined. If one only observes long enough, one can easily see how the erythrocytes begin to refract the light more strongly, their blue becomes more intense, they become bigger and tauter and show vivid pulsation. In this manner, one can *charge erythrocytes with orgone* just as one does in the body by orgone irradiation of the organism. If, in this experiment, one uses weak, deformed erythrocytes from cancer blood, their filling up and radiating is even more easily observable. Orgonotically weak erythrocytes exert little or no influence on bacilli and small protozoa. If they are charged with orgone, the effects appear. *The erythrocytes "fill themselves" with the orgone from the earth bions.*

Injection of sterile earth bions in cancer mice had the same effect as irradiation in the orgone accumulator: inhibition of tumorous growth, replacement of the tumor tissue by strongly radiating blood, and killing of T-bacilli. In the bion mixture we can observe directly what takes place in the organism as a result of bion injections. This mode of orgone application was used in my laboratory before the atmospheric orgone was discovered. After this discovery, the bion injections were replaced by irradiation in the orgone accumulator.

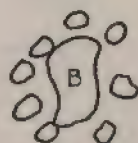
Between earth bions and erythrocytes no fusion of substance takes place, only the formation of a radiating bridge. The same is true of iron bions, coal bions, etc. However, coal bions and bions from autoclaved blood or any protein substance penetrate each other. This *fusion* will be shown to be of great importance for an understanding of the experimental production of tumors in mice by tar.

## V. FUSION AND INTERPENETRATION

What sexuality and procreation have in common is that *two orgonotic systems un-*



1. Mixture



2. Grouping



3. Formation of a "radiating bridge"



4. Dissolution of the membranes and orgonotic fusion

*Phases in the formation of a radiating bridge and orgonotic fusion between earth bions (B) and erythrocytes (E).*

*dergo an orgonotic fusion.* In the protozoon, the fusion in copulation is followed by a *mutual penetration* of body substance. Fusion and interpenetration are material processes as well as energy processes. In the metazoon, however, they are much more complete from the point of view of energy than that of substance. In the act of copulation, the male penetrates the female; both organs then form a functional unity. In many hermaphroditic molluscs (many snails and worms) the penetration is a mutual one, but remains limited to the genitals. In the fusion of the gametes to a zygote, however, the fusion and interpene-

[Turn to p. 217]

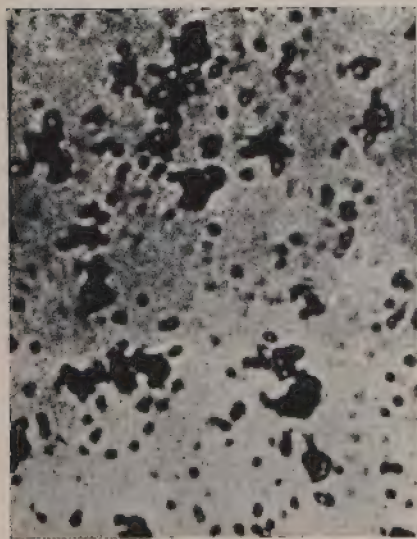


FIG. 1. *Coal bions*, from coal dust heated to incandescence and made to swell in bouillon + KCl.

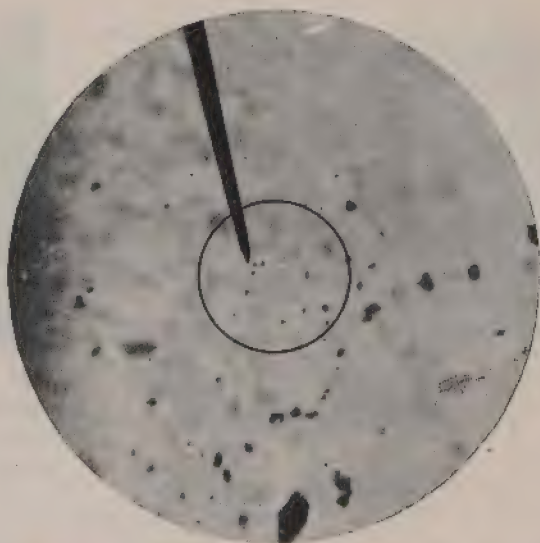


FIG. 2. Three *T-bacilli* (arrow). Gram stained (red). Present *immediately* after making a charcoal preparation. Apparent size at about 5000x; actual size less than  $0.25 \mu$ . The large black spots are fine coal dust.

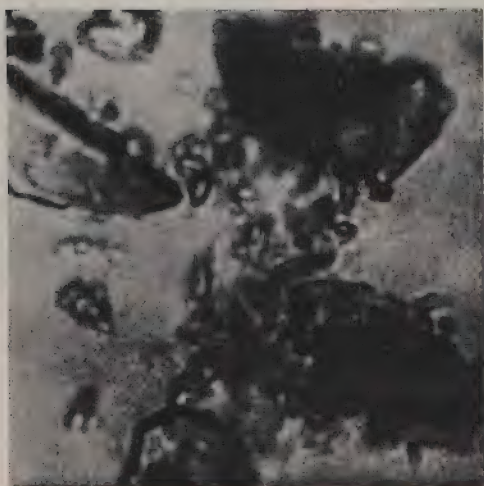


FIG. 3. Energy vesicles in earth crystals and humus.

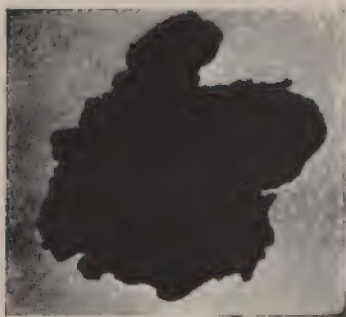


FIG. 4. *Iron filing*, dry.  
About 300x.



FIG. 5. *Iron filing*, after 15 minutes in bouillon + KCl. The vesicles, at first immobile, detach themselves and arrange themselves in lines corresponding to a magnetic field. About 500x.



FIG. 6. *T-bacilli* from sarcoma. About 5000x. The same bacilli are obtained from the blood of cancer patients. (Cf. "T-reaction," July issue, p. 141).

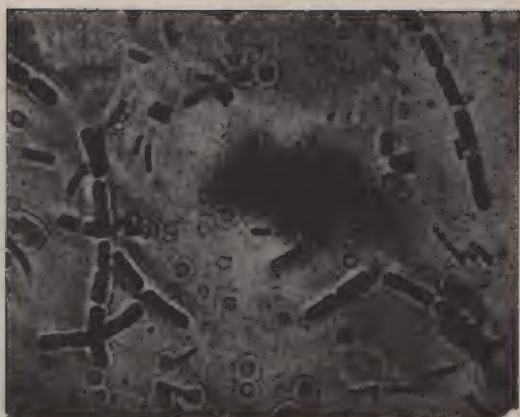
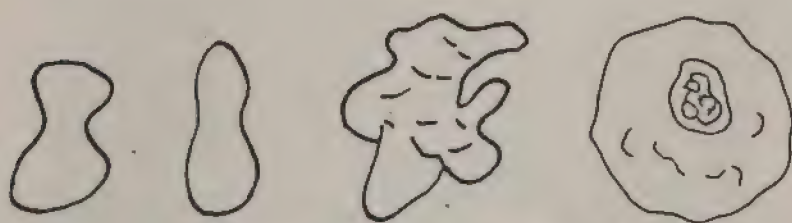


FIG. 7. For comparison: Bacilli obtained through air infection. Magnification the same as Fig. 6.



a) Blue bions. About 2 to 10  $\mu$ .



b) Staphylococci.

About 1  $\mu$  diameter.



Streptococci.



Bacilli.

About 4 to 8  $\mu$  long.



c) T-bacilli. About 0.2 to 0.5  $\mu$ .

FIG. 8. Typical forms of blue bions, black cocci and bacilli, and T-bacilli.

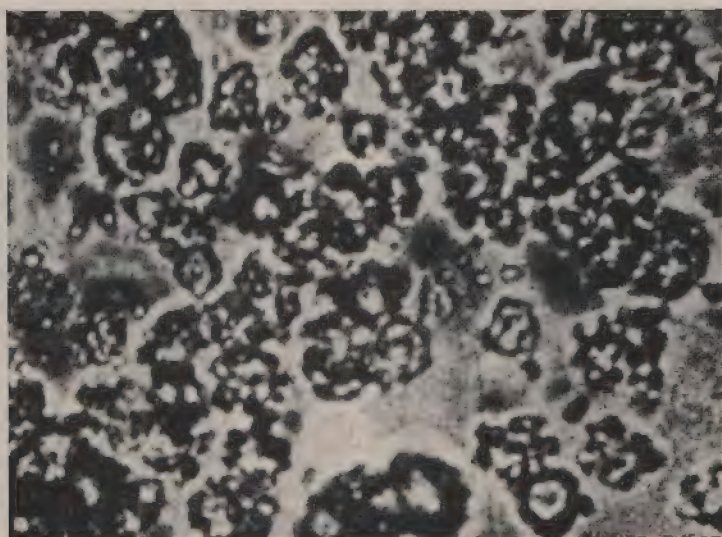


FIG. 9. Blue PA bions from autoclaved human blood. Living. About 2000x. (Cf. "B-reaction," July issue, p. 141.)

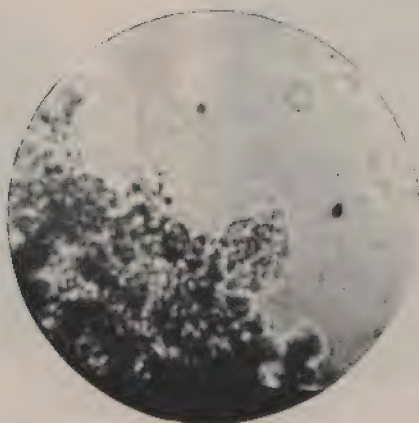


FIG. 10. Organization of a protozoon at the margin of a vesicularly disintegrated grass blade.

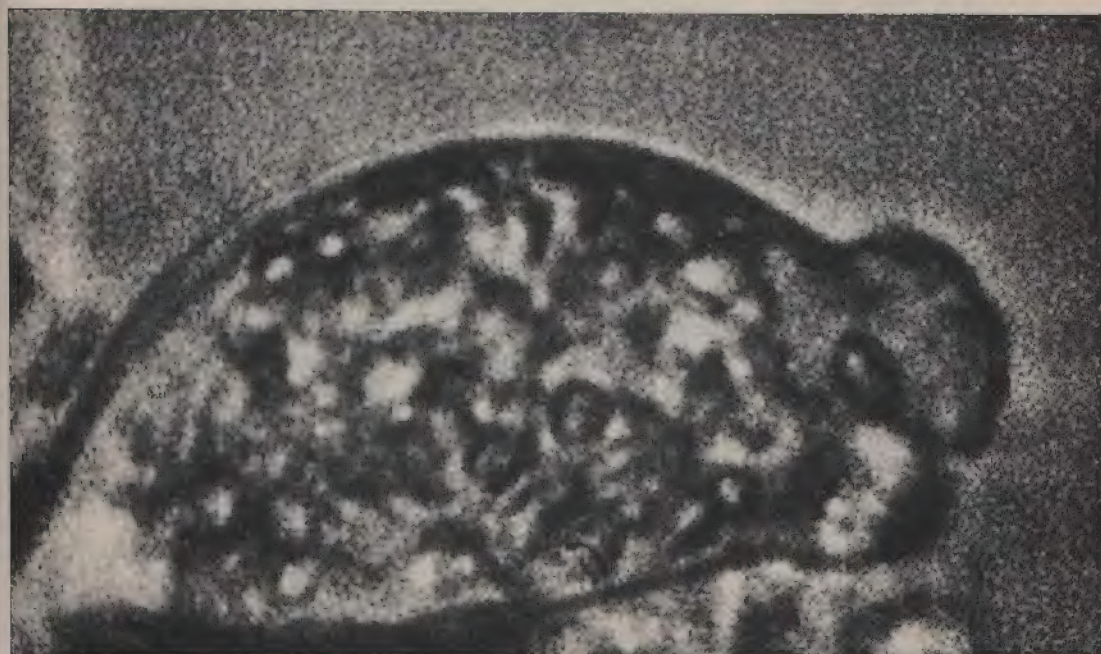


FIG. 11. Completely organized protozoon ("Org-protozoon") not yet detached from the grass blade. In a state of expansion. Filmed at about 3000x. Note the bionous-vesicular structure of the protoplasm.

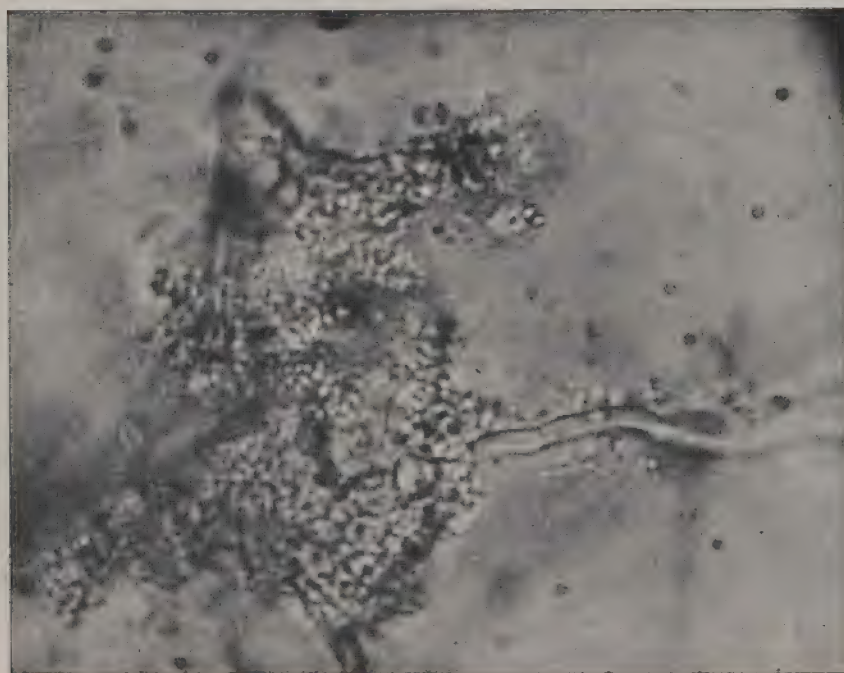


FIG. 12. Grass in a state of bionous-vesicular disintegration. From an infusion. About 700x.

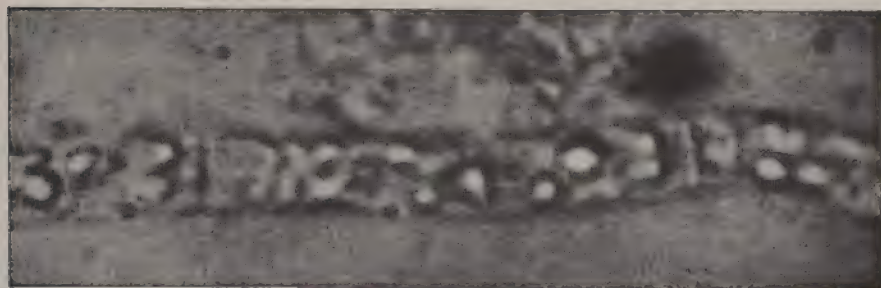


FIG. 13. Bion vesicles within grass blade, showing strong blue glimmer. About 1500x.

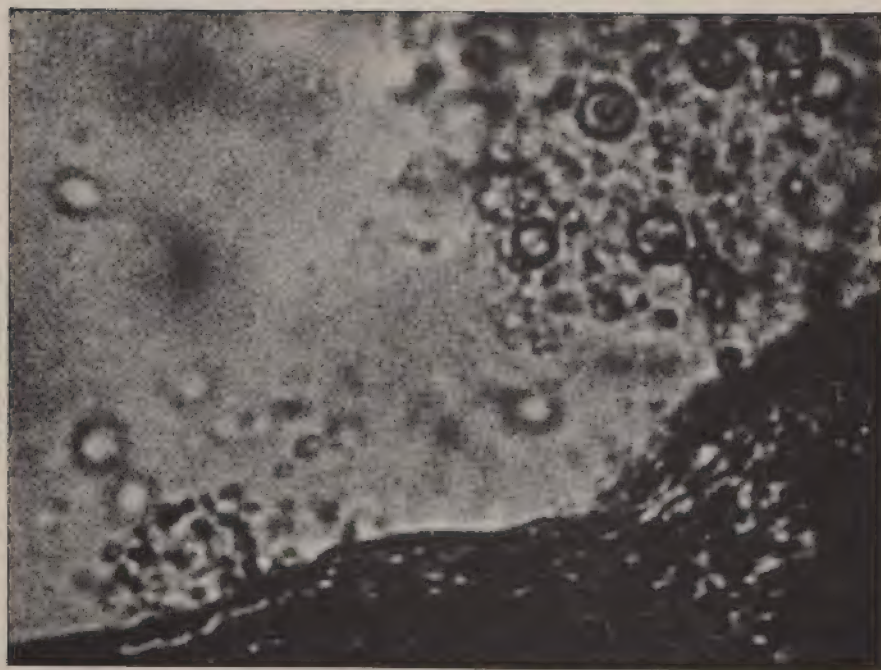


FIG. 14. A phase in the development of *ameba limax*. The protozoal germs at the upper right derive from grass which underwent swelling; each of them is developing into an ameba. At the lower left another protozoon is forming. About 1000x. Photographed with accelerated motion device.

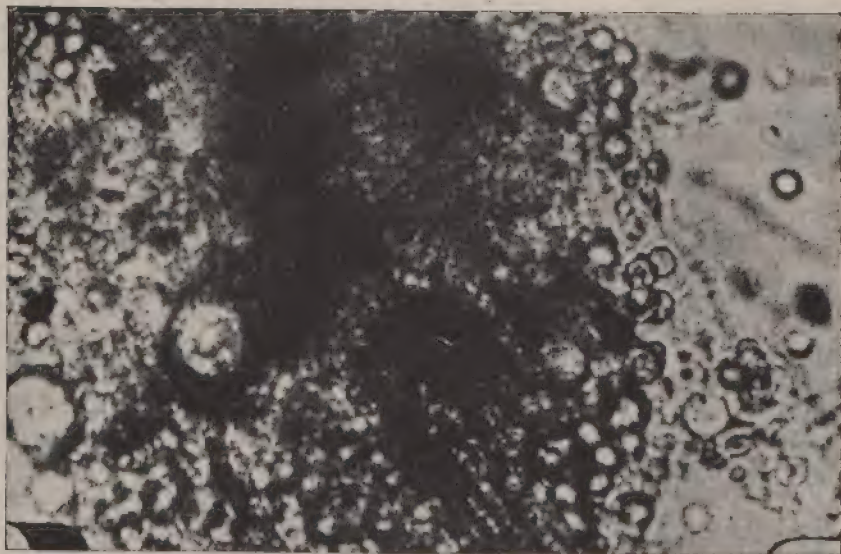


FIG. 15. A more advanced stage in the same preparation as Fig. 14. The large protozoal germs are in the process of transformation into flowing amebae. About 1000x.



FIG. 16. Dissolving protozoal germs (at the right margin of the heaps of disintegrated grass). Amebae which are detaching themselves (at the left and top).

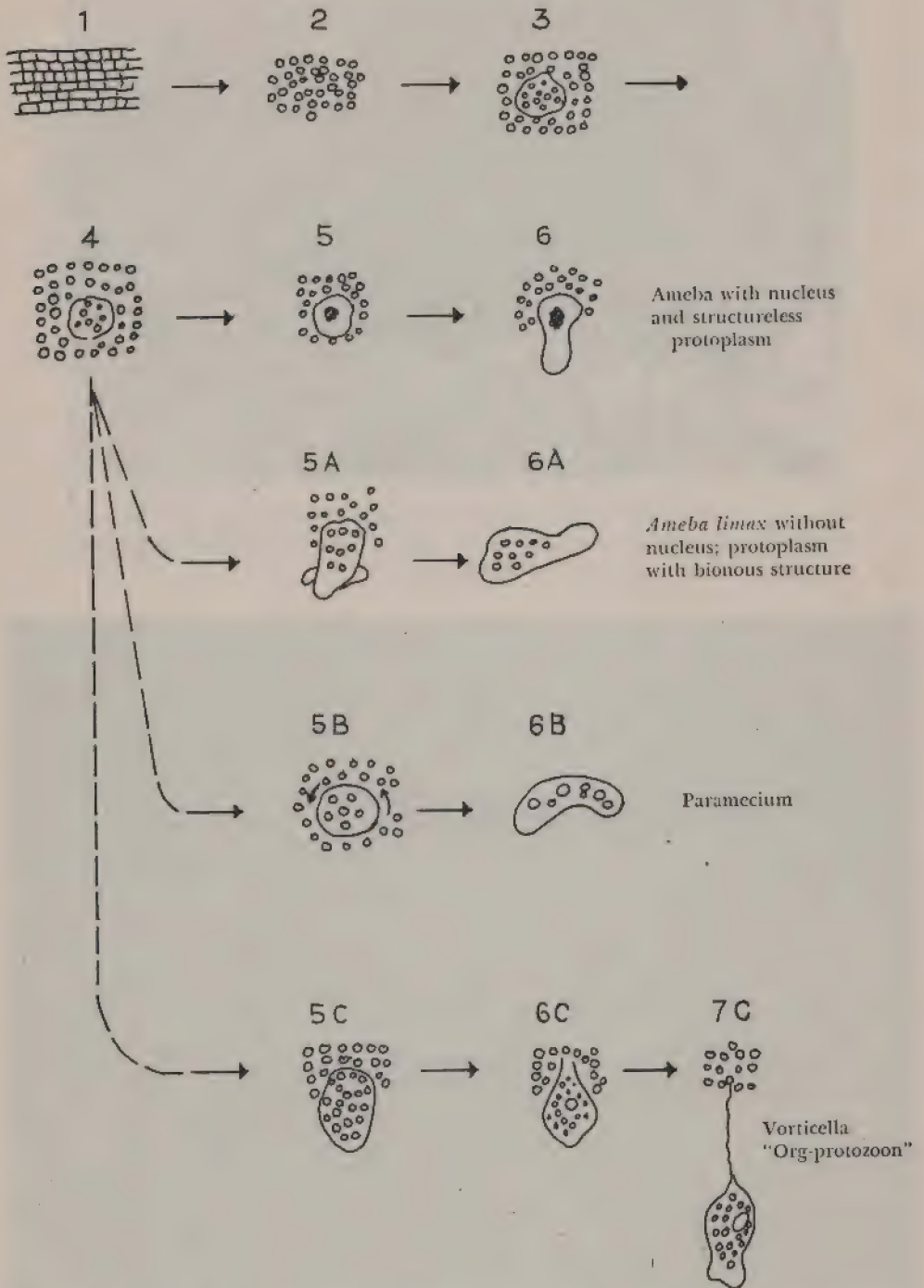
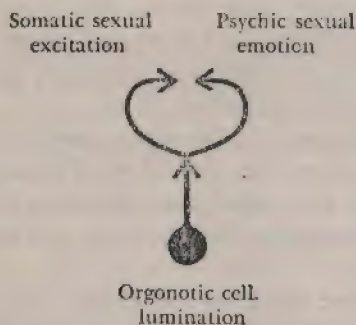


FIG. 17. Development of different protozoa from the same membranous bion heap.  
(1-4 = common stages of development; 5-7 = differentiation.)

tration is complete in a material sense also. While in the metazoa the fusion is limited to the genital organs and the gonadal cells, *the orgonotic function is a total one*; that is, two copulating beings (in the human only if orgasmic potency is present) fuse temporarily into *one orgonotic energy system*. The orgonotic fusion is always preceded by a lumination. Orgonotic *cell lumination*, physiological *excitation* and psychic *sexual* emotion are functionally identical processes. The psychic perception of a sexual object can produce physiological excitation (erection); conversely, physiological excitation (stroking, friction) can produce a sexual emotion. This psychosomatic process leads to orgonotic lumination of the total organism. Conversely, strong orgonotic lumination of the organism leads to the urge to physiological friction with accompanying psychosexual emotion. In terms of our diagram of biological functioning:



We have to take seriously the concept that energy manifestations in the metazoon are performed in *every* individual cell and that, strictly speaking, they have their origin there: the *orgone lumination* of the individual cell is what physiology and biology call "cell excitation" and what depth psychology calls "organ libido" or "cell libido." We have made a considerable step forward in the understanding of these processes, because now we know that an objectively demonstrable, specifically biological energy is at work in the cells. The basic energy functions are: formation of a

radiating bridge ("sexual contact"), lumination, fusion and interpenetration. Here, we only want to get an idea of the energy processes of fusion and interpenetration, as it can be seen in bions. We have good reason to be thrilled by the view of the fusion of a coal bion and an earth bion; the hypothetical concepts of "cell excitation" and "organ libido" have become tangible realities.

When the coal bions have been attracted by the heavier and thus less mobile earth bions and have formed the radiating bridge, we see the energy process continue which presents clearly every phase of copulation.

The "excited," that is, luminating bions approach each other more and more closely. At the points of the radiating bridges, the coal substance (in the form of bions) gradually begins to enter into the earth bions. It looks as if the earth bions were absorbing the coal bions. Finally, the smaller coal bions have penetrated completely into the body of the earth bions. They still can be distinguished clearly by their black membranes while those of the earth bions are brownish. The whole complex, consisting of earth bions plus coal bions, looks brown *and* black. Gradually, the black disappears, the membranes of the coal bions are dissolved. The earth bion becomes darker, its blue vesicles radiate more strongly. Finally, no coal substance is any longer visible.

One might also say that the earth bion has "eaten up" the coal bion. Such a differentiation of fusion in the sense of "eating" or "copulating" means nothing because on this most primitive level, the function of the biological energy is undifferentiated. It would be extremely difficult to differentiate the function of the incorporation of small protozoa by bigger ones from that of copulation.

Incidentally, this is true of the metazoon also if we describe energy processes and refrain from anthropomorphically and fi-

nalistically giving them a goal. Seen finalistically, a suckling infant fulfills an entirely different "goal" from that of the woman who takes a penis into her vagina. The first "serves" the "preservation of the individual," the second the "preservation of the race." But it is time to put a stop to such finalistic differentiations when we are speaking of *biological* functioning. From the point of view of *energy*—and no other point of view is biophysically tenable—the process taking place between the mouth of the infant and the maternal nipple is exactly the same as that between the vagina and the penis. The functional identity pertains to every last physiological detail. Let us not be influenced in such serious matters by the moralistic hypocrisy which declares the "sacred" act of nursing to be "asexual," so as not to "desecrate" it by equating it with the "dirty" sexual act. It is not a matter of being sacred or not sacred, but a matter of biological functioning. Only now we understand, in terms of biophysics, Freud's important finding that the infant's mouth is a *sexually* excited organ no less than the maternal nipple. This one piece of insight is ever so much more valuable for an understanding of the widespread inability of women to nurse their infants than all kinds of medical theories.

Thus, the question whether the earth bion has "eaten" the coal bion in order to "build itself up" and has thus acted "morally," or "reasonably," or whether it united itself "sexually" with the coal bion, is of no import to us. What matters to us is the basic character of the process, that which is common to all basic biological functions, be it eating, conjugation, copulation, the formation of zygotes or the sexual act of the metazoon.

The fact should be mentioned that there is such a thing as a *satiation* of the orgone hunger in bions. If one adds only a few coal bions to an earth bion solution, one finds no coal bions left after a few days. But if one adds a large amount of coal

bions, they do not all disappear.

Different kinds of bions show different degrees of "orgone hunger." Sand bion cultures, for example, are "greedy" toward coal bions; similarly, iron bions fuse readily with coal bions. Bions from boiled organic substances, such as muscle, are far less ready to take up the coal bions. These observations allow the conclusion that the less carbon a bion contains originally, the greater its tendency to take up carbon. The SAPA bions, derived from sand, originally contained no carbon, the iron bions only traces of carbon. The muscle bions, on the other hand, are composed of carbon compounds; thus their hunger for carbon is far less than that of the sand bions. I resist the temptation to draw the possible far-reaching conclusions concerning the origin of the plasma on our planet; we shall stick strictly to the facts.

Not only coal bions fuse with others. We shall also see fusion between earth bions and iron bions, iron bions and muscle bions, coal bions and blood bions, and others. Here is an enormous field for further investigation.

In summary: *The orgone energy vesicles show the basic functions of living substance fully developed: attraction, lumina-tion, radiating bridge, fusion and penetra-tion.*

These functions are specific characteristics of the orgone vesicles, for bions which have lost their charge also lose these functions. These functions, then, are not determined materially, but by *energy*. They are specific orgone functions and have nothing to do with magnetism or electricity.

Now we have a better background for an approach to the observations regarding the organization of protozoa and cancer cells.

## VI. THE NATURAL ORGANIZATION OF PROTOZOA

I would like to preface this section with

the excellent statement with which the biologist Üxküll introduces his book, "*Umwelt und Innenwelt der Tiere*":

The word "science" has become a ridiculous fetish. It may be well to point out that science is nothing but the sum total of the opinions of living scientists. . . . By and by, all opinions are forgotten, changed or thrown out. Thus, without any exaggeration, the answer to the question, "What is a scientific truth?" is "An error of today." . . . We hope to progress from gross errors to less gross ones. But whether we are really progressing on this path is highly doubtful as far as *biology* is concerned.

Early in 1938, I published some accelerated motion photographs which in a simple and unequivocal manner demonstrated the fact that protozoa do not originate from alleged air germs, but from bionously disintegrating moss and grass (cf. "Die Bione," figs. 12, 13, 18-21, 23, 28 ff).

In the interest of the scientific work which I advocate, I have to mention some painful facts concerning the reaction of the biological world to these pictures. Did it realize its "error of today" which lies in the tenacious contention that protozoa develop, and will always develop, from mystical "air germs"? Did it ever ask itself where the *first* germs came from? What did it say to the microphotos which spoke such a clear language? Some of its representatives professed astonishment that "I should have seen what thousands of scientists had overlooked." Is that an argument? Others asked whether I was an Aryan. Still others asked what fees I charged. Still others raised the question whether my academic teaching activities were necessary. Some cancer hospital officials demanded that I be examined by them in order to determine whether or not I was "entitled" to "occupy myself with such problems." By "such problems" they meant the *cancer problem*. They had guessed that I had come close to the problem of the organization of cancer cells. I was accused of having claimed that I could cure cancer, at a time when I myself had no

idea that I ever would be led to occupy myself with cancer experiments. The official cancer authority in Norway, Kreyberg, who intended to examine me, had never in his life observed a living cancer cell, and had never even seen stained cancer tissue at a magnification of over 600x. When I showed him cancer cells at 2000x he was flabbergasted and was unable to react in any other way than by becoming inimical. He failed to see the wide avenue of approach to cancer research, specifically, to the eternal question of how cancer cells develop from healthy tissue, or, to put it differently, *how an immobile tissue cell can change into a mobile cancer cell*. To his public utterance that I knew less about bacteriology than a medical student, I could say only that I was proud at the age of 40 to have maintained the ability of an eager student of medicine to learn new things, or to relearn things I had learned 20 years previously and then forgotten. The ossified official or "professor," on the other hand, wants only to "examine;" he feels himself above looking into a microscope and learning something new, even if it is something which he needs urgently lest he go on groping around in his own special field like a blind man. Instead, my sanity was questioned; there was, for 10 months, an almost daily dispute in the newspapers as to whether I was a charlatan or a genius, a Jew, a psychopath, or a sexual monomaniac. They asked the police authorities to throw me out of the country; they tried to bring a charge against me concerning the seduction of minors, because I had affirmed infantile masturbation. Such indecent behavior on the part of the academic world simply cannot go unmentioned; it almost cost me my existence in addition to the loss of many thousands of dollars and several good co-workers who became frightened. On the other hand, these microphotos rewarded me with the definite solution of the problem of the development of cancer cells.

With a very few exceptions, the world of biology, of the "error of today," kept silent about these microphotos. Today, 5 years later, the facts speak for themselves. Cf. fig. 10, p. 212 and fig. 11, p. 213 and figs. 4 and 5, facing p. 129, July issue.

The animal does not consist of a mechanical sum of organs, no more than the organ consists of a mechanical sum of cells. The total animal, each individual organ and each individual cell, each for itself, form an orgonotic system which is governed by the four-beat of tension→charge→discharge→relaxation and thus is a functional unit. It is characteristic of the living system that every one of its parts may operate according to the formula of tension and charge by itself or in connection with the total organism.

In modern biological literature, since about the first world war, the functional point of view has gradually come into its own besides the mechanistic one. One of the basic problems of biology is the fact that the functions of structures (musculature, nerves, glands, etc.) are mechanically understandable while the functions of the protoplasm appear like a miracle. One basic difference between the protoplasm and a machine lies in the fact that "fluid machines are inconceivable" (Üxküll). The protoplasm functions on the basis of characteristics which the machines do not possess. It functions *without having a structure*. It perpetuates itself through an equilibrium between assimilation and dissimilation, that is, through *function* and not material structure. As soon as the function ceases, the material substance collapses. *The material structure itself is dependent upon the function of the living plasm*. "The animal is an event" (Jennings).

These facts are inaccessible to a biology with a chemical, mechanistic orientation.

Let us see what answer the knowledge of the orgone functions provides to these riddles. One thing is obvious: A concept which has everything derive from "germ Anlagen" and which simply assumes that the "germ plasm" has always been there and always will be, without asking about *its* origin, such a concept cannot answer questions as to plasmatic functioning. For

according to such a concept, everything is already contained "materially" in the germ, just as the "preformation theory" assumes all future generations to be preformed in the gonadal cells. If, now, we can demonstrate, microscopically and photographically, *the process of non-plasmatic matter becoming plasmatic*, we will also gain insight into the *development* of the plasma function. *The plasma function has been shown to be identical with the function of tension and charge*. For from the alternating expansion and contraction in the biological pulsation all more complicated functions can be derived. Non-living substance does not pulsate, living substance pulsates. *It is precisely at the point of transition from immobility to pulsatory mobility that we have to look for the solution of the riddle of biogenesis*. This point of transition can, in fact, be demonstrated microscopically and photographically.

What harm the metaphysical germ theory did in biological research can be shown by the following facts:

I know of no textbook of biology which would contain a description of the *material* of infusions from which protozoa are obtained. They say nothing about *what takes place* in the grass or moss. They simply state that after a few days the protozoa are "there." The argument which again and again was used against the natural organization of protozoa, namely that no protozoa are found in moss which had been heated, cannot be taken seriously. In addition, it has long since been proved erroneous by various biologists. The tenacity with which it is upheld just the same betrays an interest which is *not scientific but religious*. We can now add: Even if moss which has been heated does not contain protozoa, it contains, nevertheless, blue bions. These bions, however, are found also in moss which has not been heated but which undergoes a process of gradual swelling.

In every textbook of biology we find the contention—which one author takes over blindly from the other—that the protozoa develop from germ cysts. They observed the fact that protozoa can take on spherical shape. This observation is correct, but it was misinterpreted. They observed two separate processes which they combined into *one* contention. One process is the protozoa's taking on spherical shape when they are damaged. The other is the development of spherical forms in grass infusions, and these have nothing whatsoever to do with the spherical protozoa. These round forms are the result of a gradual *development of bions into a heap of bion vesicles*. This spherical bion heap is a typical stage in the natural organization of protozoa.

We read in the textbooks of biology that the infusions are full of "algae" which also are supposed to have developed from "germs." That the protozoa live on these "algae" is correct. But who has ever seen the "germs" of such algae? And how is it that we find these very forms which are called algae in a preparation which consists of nothing but autoclaved blood or muscle tissue? These "algae" are nothing but our bion vesicles into which any organic tissue disintegrates when it swells. Instead of contending that the "germs" of the protozoa are in the air and that they "settle down" and develop where a "suitable" medium "presents itself," we shall go to the trouble of observing an infusion right from the start, for at least an hour every day, at a magnification of 2000x. There are no protozoal "germs" in the air at all (Plouchet). This superstitious belief of biology is no less amazing than what we are to see in these observations.

But first we will make a single experiment to see whether we can find any protozoal "germs" which have settled as "spores from the universe" on the grass or moss. Holding some grass blades with a pincette, we squeeze the "germs" into a

glass of unsterile water. We made sure that the grass was not in vesicular disintegration but had its normal cellular structure. Whatever we do, *we cannot find a single protozoon or a single cyst in the unsterile water into which we have dipped the grass. But what takes place in the infusion?*

In the course of 2 to 3 days the grass disintegrates into bion vesicles like any other substance which we make to swell (*cf.* fig. 12, p. 213, and fig. 13, p. 214). Even at a magnification of 4000x, no bacteria, cysts or protozoa can be seen. However, the disintegration of the grass progresses further and further; after another 2 or 3 days, there is hardly a blade which would show the original cellular and striated structure undisturbed. There may already be a few protozoa, but we focus our attention on the bions. We see how they conglomerate here and there into heaps and develop a membrane. We can follow every step in this development. Here and there we see some bion vesicles within a heap develop delicate rotating or vibrating movements. They assume an increasingly taut form and actually look like cysts. But they are not dried-up protozoa; they are forms *in the process of developing from a bion heap*. These bion heaps may be of various sizes and shapes. The tauter they are the more they assume spherical shape. They have filled with fluid, that is, have become mechanically tense. The first phase of the function of tension and charge has taken place. We have to look at one and the same form for many hours at 2000x and have to keep adding fluid so that it remains in focus. We also can take accelerated motion pictures. This makes the job easier, but many interesting details get lost. The development of such a vesicle into a pulsating protozoon takes 1 to 2 days. The protozoal primal vesicle (bion heap) remains immobile for hours, but, as seen in the accelerated motion picture, it gets tauter and tauter and more and more

demarcated from its surroundings. Gradually, a *movement of the energy vesicles* within the bion heap begins to set in. One can distinguish the following variations of motility:

a) *Rolling*: The energy vesicles within the bion heap roll rhythmically toward each other and away from each other. One has the impression of mutual attraction and repulsion. The causes of this rolling movement can only be guessed at: At first the vesicles of the disintegrating grass adhere to each other. Their orgone charge is the same as that of the other grass bions which do *not* develop into protozoa. In the process of the swelling and becoming tauter of the spherical heap of vesicles, more orgone must be developed within each of the individual vesicles, since, as in the coal bion, the swelling makes the membrane become thinner and the orgone charge more intense. When the vesicles within the bion heap have lost their mechanical connection with each other, their orgone charge can begin to manifest itself in motion. One of the first effects of this is the *orgonotic attraction* between the vesicles. The attraction on the part of more distant vesicles results in mutual attraction and repulsion.

b) *Rotation*: In many bion heaps the total content of the vesicles begins to rotate in one direction. This movement may continue for hours. It becomes more intense, and finally one sees the whole heap, *including the membrane*, rotate. In this process, it detaches itself from the surrounding bionous grass tissue.

c) *Confluence of the energy vesicles*: Not all of the bion heaps maintain the vesicular structure of their plasma. In many kinds of amebae, the boundaries between the individual vesicles disappear and the plasma forms a homogeneous mass with a bluish glimmer. In others, the vesicular structure remains until they are fully developed. The same is true of cancer cells which develop in exactly the

same way from disintegrating animal tissue as the protozoa from grass or moss. *Cancer cells are nothing but protozoa which in the animal organism develop from tissue bions*. The process of organization of protozoa in grass or moss infusions is *the* key to an understanding of the organization of cancer cells in animal tissue.

d) *Pulsation*: At a magnification of about 3000x, one can see very small movements of expansion and contraction already in the bion heap. It seems that those forms in which the energy vesicles flow together, are much more apt to develop pulsation than those which maintain the vesicular structure of the plasma, as, for example, the "org-protozoon." (Cf. fig. 10, p. 212 and fig. 11, p. 213.)

A variant of the confluence of the bions can be observed in the primal vesicle of many paramecia. Here, the small bions do not flow together into one mass, but, instead, groups of them form medium-sized vesicles within the larger body. These vesicles then show movements of rolling and rotating in relation to each other just as the bions from which they originated. *The more bions flow together, that is, the more fluid the plasma, the greater is the motility of the total organism*.

Particularly at the margins of the disintegrating grass, one finds, next to "finished" animals, every stage of development and form. As in the *ameba limax* and *proteus*, the nucleus is formed through a special *concentration* of energy vesicles which manifests itself in increased lumina-  
tion.

The transition from one stage of development to the other is difficult to follow by direct microscopic observation because it is extremely tiring. Here, the accelerated motion picture device is a great help. In order to take moving pictures over a period of days, one puts the cover glass on the hanging drop slide in such a manner that it does not com-

pletely cover the cavity. One draws a little liquid over the edge of the cavity and forms on the outside a reservoir of fluid from which one can add to the preparation without disturbing the focus. Taking pictures with a cover glass completely covering the cavity is impossible, first because of the formation of air-bubbles, second because the organisms would suffocate. Thus far, we have succeeded in making microphotos of the bionous structure and plasma movement at a magnification of 2300x in org-protozoa. The finished film shows a process within a few minutes which in reality took 2 to 3 days.

Up to the formation of the bionous primal vesicle the development is the same in all forms of protozoa. But from that point on the protozoa differentiate themselves according to laws which are as yet unintelligible. Years of observation led me to the assumption that the first primal vesicles do not specifically belong to certain specific forms. Rather, the differentiation of specific forms sets in only at a certain point of *common* development (cf. fig. 17, p. 216). Here is a wide field for amplification and correction. Why certain forms, once they have developed, are reproduced again and again in the same form, is one of the greatest riddles. In this field, the functional point of view will have to stand many battles with the metaphysical theory of heredity which replaces searching and understanding by ready-made "genes."

Those primal vesicles which tend to rotating movement and have a structure consisting of large vesicles usually develop into paramecia. The resting primal vesicles with a flowing content develop into amebae limax (cf. fig. 14, p. 214, and fig. 15, p. 215). This difference is also expressed in the way in which the protozoa detach themselves from their matrix: the paramecia do so by way of a rolling motion, while the amebae simply flow away from the bionous heap (cf. fig. 16, p. 215).

The vorticellae, which I termed org-protozoa because of their orgasm-like contraction and expansion, may remain attached to the grass blade until they are fully developed (cf. fig. 11, p. 213). Others detach themselves and swim about freely, sometimes with a little piece of bionous grass attached to them.

The fully developed protozoa take up bions from the fluid by means of attraction. The attraction exerted by paramecia on energy vesicles is enormous; it cannot be explained by the mechanical movement of the cilia. For the vesicles in the fluid do not move past the body as one would expect from the action of the cilia; rather, when they come within a certain distance, they are pulled toward the paramecium with great force. The observation is unequivocal. The org-protozoa contract, then expand and open the mouth widely, whereupon the bions in the fluid flow into it with great force. The mouth closes, the animal again contracts into spherical shape, and there is a rhythmic "grinding" movement of the energy vesicles.

Observation at 2-3000x reveals interesting details with regard to the development of the *internal* impulses. At the place where the ameba is about to form a pseudopodium, one notices first an intensive rotary motion of the vesicles. Then they show an intensified blue glimmer and the plasma begins to stream toward the periphery, that is, expansion begins. Many of the blue vesicles are taken along in this process; if so, they lose their blue color and become black. This allows the following interpretation: *The protrusion of the pseudopodium is preceded by a rapid and intense concentration of orgone which constitutes the source of the expansion impulse.* When the impulse is translated into movement, orgone energy is used up; this is the only possible explanation for the becoming black of the vesicles. I do not wish to generalize this conclusion because the phenomenon is not

found in all protozoa. The fact cannot be doubted, however, that *it is the orgone charge of the bions in the protozoon which provides the energy* for the expansion impulse and the movement of expansion. A mechanistic explanation by Brownian movement fails completely here. These observations also show the untenability of the chemical concept of plasma as being nothing but a highly complex protein molecule. *Living protoplasm is a complex protein governed by free orgone.*

The body of the protozoon shows a field of orgone energy which affects its surroundings. It affects bions, small bacteria and other small protozoa mostly in the sense of attracting or paralyzing them. Charged erythrocytes seem to be organotically stronger than paramecia or small amebae, for they are capable of reducing the mobility of these organisms. The protozoon consists, from the point of view of orgone physics, *of a nucleus, a plasmatic periphery and an orgone energy field; it thus forms an "organotic system."*

I would like to mention a fact which thus far is incomprehensible but which seems of utmost importance. Every year since March 1936 to date I have made infusions of dried grass and moss and have studied them. In the course of these six years, I have never seen protozoa develop from grass or moss that was freshly grown that spring. Infusions of old, *autumnal* grass or moss, however, always resulted in abundant growth of protozoa. Of course, one is reminded of the fact that cancer cells develop rarely in the young but usually in the aging, "autumnal" human organism. But the fact is still not really understandable. It may also be that others will succeed in growing protozoa from spring moss. At any rate, this fact seemed worth mentioning.

Needless to say, the fact of the development of protozoa from bionous plant tissue does not conflict with their procreation by division. *Development by natural*

*organization and procreation by division go on one after the other and side by side,* as can easily be observed under the microscope.

There is hardly any better opportunity of studying the functions of tension → charge → discharge → relaxation than that provided by the protozoa. Their movements, their plasmatic currents, their expansion and contraction, etc., speak an unequivocal language in terms of our formula of living functioning. One can alter these functions by the application of weak electric currents, one can accelerate them and destroy them. But, as is shown plainly by the development of the protozoa, the energy behind these functions derives from the bions which constitute the protozoal primal vesicle. The locomotor functions of the ameba, which as yet lacks any structure, are due only and alone to the orgone energy. The pseudopodia come and go as a result of the function of expansion and contraction. The ameba does not send out a pseudopodium "in order to" reach an object, that is, not on the basis of an "aim" (finalistically); it does it functionally, when a certain object, through attraction, causes an expansion impulse in the organotic plasma.

We must, if for no other reason, in the interest of further research, always remember that living matter simply functions but does not betray any "meaning" or "aim." On the basis of "aims," everything is very easy to explain.<sup>1</sup> To find out

<sup>1</sup> *Translator's note:* When I translated this passage, I had just been reading a chapter of a book in which the wife of a Polish landowner tried to teach the peasant women some simple measures of child hygiene. Her message was received with stony faces. "How many of you have lost babies? Don't you think that many of them would have lived if you had fed them properly and kept them clean?" asked the woman. "It was God's will," cried a peasant woman. "It was God's will," cried others. That was their explanation. It was simple, and as inviolable as the biologists' explanation of the origin of protozoa from "air germs."

the nature of unknown functions is far more difficult. The "purposeful action" of the ameba can be reduced to the function of the orgone. For example: it incorporates a bion vesicle because the stronger orgone charge of the protozoon attracts the weaker charge of the free bion. True, in this process, the "purpose" of nutrition is fulfilled, but this is a *result and not the cause* of the action of incorporating. The protoplasm, then, functions not on the basis of mechanical, finalistic principles, but on the basis of *the functions of orgone energy*.

All biological functions can be reduced to the basic function of pulsation, that is, alternating expansion and contraction. The pulsation itself follows of necessity the two antithetical functions of the orgone energy, dissociation and attraction of orgone-charged organic matter. On the basis of the processes taking place in the plasma of the ameba, we must assume the following effect of the state of matter on the function of the orgone:

The individual orgone-containing vesicles may, as in moss, group themselves in rows and form a striated structure of the tissue. This is to be ascribed to the organizing function of attraction. In other protozoa, the energy vesicles flow together and form a unitary mass. *Every concentration of orgone-charged matter due to attraction automatically calls forth an impulse to dissociation, to a separation of the particles.* When an ameba has assumed spherical shape a vivid rotary movement sets in at the place where the energy vesicles have conglomerated most densely; this movement results in an expansion, that is, a separation of the vesi-

cles. Conversely, the separation of the vesicles from each other results in an impulse to rapprochement through attraction. This is what causes the contraction. As long as the plasma is sufficiently orgone-charged, every contraction leads to an expansion, every expansion to a contraction. This internal process appears externally as *pulsation*, no matter what its rhythm may be. Since expansion goes with hydration, contraction with dehydration, the mechanical and the orgonotic function fuse into the following four-beat: hydration (tension) → expansion (charge) → contraction (discharge) → dehydration (relaxation). However, the pulsation itself depends essentially on the coupling of *dissociation with attraction* and *attraction with dissociation* of the particles.

This process is particularly clearly demonstrable in the contractions of the org-protozoa: After every contraction there is a grinding motion like a friction of the vesicles in the body which goes over into an expansion. The expansion goes with the opening of the mouth which causes the attraction of energy vesicles from the fluid ("eating"), that is, a charging, which in turn results in a contraction into spherical shape, that is, a rapprochement of the internal vesicles. This process repeats itself endlessly.

We will meet this biophysical functioning again and again in various biological processes. In this article, I have tried to demonstrate the following important fact: *Biological pulsation, the basic phenomenon of living substance, is explained by the two antithetical basic functions of the biological energy, attraction and dissociation.*

Concluded April 1942

# THE DANGERS OF FREEDOM†

By PAUL MARTIN,\* M.D.

Bertrand Russell tells the following story in his book on child education:

One day he found his children sitting in a tree eating green apples. He told them he thought they'd better stop, otherwise they would get sick. The following day one of the children came to him and said: "Daddy, I got sick."

Today when so many people are taking potshots at freedom, it might be well to remember this little story. It shows how happy a person may well be for having been permitted to experience things for himself, even when it went so far as to make him sick.

Today there seems to be a universal tendency to solve problems by merely dictating a solution for all to obey and punishing those who do not follow orders.

Strict disciplinarians are also seeking to exploit the temper of the times. Consider, for example, the school system in general and physical education teachers specifically. Besides, it is war-time, which in itself tends to foster strict discipline. A contributing factor is undoubtedly this: Those who believed in freedom were unable to show they could handle the situation convincingly. A particularly striking example is Russia. After the Bolsheviks took over power there arose strong tendencies towards freedom in sexual customs and education, but these tendencies were not continued. The main reason is very likely that the people lacked the ability to bring about real freedom and self-regulation in both the fields mentioned. In Russia today we therefore find widespread restriction of sexual freedom and a type of education in

which discipline and authority play a decisive role.

Nevertheless I belong to those who believe freedom will soon receive immensely better treatment, because I am convinced that more people than ever are hungry for freedom.

The title of this article runs the risk of being misunderstood or used wrongly. People may say: "Even Martin warns against too much freedom, it's too dangerous!"

Therefore, I want to emphasize immediately that I *believe* in freedom—complete freedom for all that is healthy, and for all that is sick as long as it does not turn destructive. Only when freedom leads to a condition that is both sick and harmful should it and must it be limited. I hope to be able to show how completely and unreservedly I believe in freedom, and at the same time in the *necessary* limitations. Even Russell's little story indicates that freedom must be restricted. It is all very well to let children eat green apples, but we all draw the line at poisonous toadstools. Clearly it would also be insane not to place restrictions on murderers and rapists as long as they exist. Here the question is simply which restrictions are the most effective. It seems to me it would be just as insane to allow rapists and murderers to walk freely in our midst as it would be to allow a system of upbringing to continue which creates murderers and rapists.

We live under conditions where there can be no question of unconditional freedom. Since we know that freedom is a necessity if human beings are to develop their faculties and attain happiness, the important thing is to fight for freedom with *open* eyes. It is not enough to close

† Translated by Marika Myerson.

\* This is a pseudonym. Present conditions unfortunately force us to withhold the names of our European co-workers.

them and go after a static idea of freedom. We must understand where freedom leads: to the unfolding of the human personality and to the enrichment of humanity. We must also understand wherein the dangers of freedom lie: in man's pathological, ruined structure, and in rigid social conventions. Our goal thus becomes to aid man, with complete confidence in the infinite wealth of his powers, to unfold his possibilities and at the same time to avoid as much as possible the dangers that lurk by the wayside.

The first problem we are faced with is that we actually know so *infinitely little about how* people will react when they are given the chance to realize the inner biological urges that primarily determine their actions as in all other living organisms. This lack of knowledge is in itself no objection to freedom. Above all, we must continually point out that wherever we have seen freedom at work, i.e., among primitive peoples such as the Trobrianders and Arapeches, and wherever we as educators have brought it about by our teachings, the results have been completely convincing. Consider for example Neill's achievements at Summerhill, or consider those primitive tribes whose language has no word for "stealing," and among whom sexual crimes are unknown. You, as teachers, also know how the restriction of freedom frustrates the capacity for living. As a doctor, I can assure you that, exactly to the extent to which it is possible to eliminate the inhibitions resulting from upbringing and environment, my patients are able to develop their faculties, talents, and capacity for love; this change is so striking that one simply dares not realize the magnitude of these possibilities. The perspectives that open up are vast. No, we have no reason to feel doubtful of freedom! But in its way it is far more demanding than any other process. The great advantage of authoritarian systems of upbringing is that they tell the edu-

cator exactly how to react in a given situation: if the child behaves in such-and-such a manner, all you have to do is this-and-that. Look at the precision with which certain educators, notably the Americans, lay down rules for eating and sleeping.

The situation is quite different for the truly progressive educator. He has but one goal: to give the child opportunity to develop. His main task is to discover the desires of the child from its behavior, and as much as possible to keep his wants from not being realized, or at least to facilitate a release of emotion when realization is impossible. This is difficult enough with healthy children, as for example with the newborn baby. When I read Aldrich's book, "Babies Are Human Beings," it became clear to me that in many instances we disturb without thinking the self-regulation which alone leads to real freedom. What, then, is self-regulation? Aldrich taught me something about the bath given the newborn baby. Everywhere in the civilized world the first thing that happens to a baby is the bath given to cleanse it of the fatty substances covering it at birth. Aldrich firmly believes that this bath is harmful and that when it is avoided these fatty substances are absorbed during the following days into the baby's skin, giving it a much greater capacity for resistance. In the same way we believe that the important thing is to let the child determine how and how much it wants to sleep, eat, etc. In other words, let the child determine its way of living according to *its own* capacity, let it have *its own* joys, *its own* sorrows, *its own* anger. Naturally not everyone has the patience to allow a baby to cry violently half the night, and yet it is possible for a little child to have such strong feelings of rage that only after this period of time do they find full release.

The problem is much more difficult with children, or adults, whose development has been frustrated. Then the child has conflicting tendencies that push it in

different directions with varying force. Here it is no longer merely a question of freedom: we associate with the child, and we can only achieve a real relationship if we ourselves know what forces in the child will lead to a healthy development of the child as a free and independent individual, and which forces serve only to defend against outward influences the stronghold in which his spirit is already imprisoned.

Let us take a very simple example, one which may antagonize many of you or give you the mistaken impression that the problem is only a sexual one. This example shows the importance of the attitude of the environment. The case is that of a four-year-old boy whom I knew well. He was a very lively child but had certain inhibitions deriving from the inhibition of his exceptionally strong and satisfying masturbation. Occasionally, however, the desire would break through the inhibition and would be gratified; then, the boy immediately became quite healthy and happy. But each time the effect lasted only a short time. He was living in the country during the summer and went about playing diffidently with his little penis many times a day, without quite daring to masturbate. After a while he became more courageous. His parents took care that everyone should regard it as quite natural. Finally he masturbated successfully. Immediately he became completely healthy and happy. Until now he had cried and complained but this vanished altogether. He had also seemed quite tormented and had been quite a burden to those around him; now he became free and joyous and it was a pleasure to be with him. Then his parents left for a vacation trip. When they returned, they found the boy had had a serious relapse. He cried and complained as before, and no longer masturbated. His parents came to the conclusion that the neighbors had frightened him. How it happened was never fully cleared

up. But a year passed before the child regained his composure and happy spirits and during this time he suffered a good deal. Finally a real love affair helped him over his troubles.

Things are rarely as simple as in this case. But at the bottom of every neurosis there is always a sexual conflict, most often masturbation anxiety. This was Freud's discovery and it forms the basic concept in classical psychoanalytic teaching. Reich, too, confirms this finding. His essential contribution is that sexual anxiety, particularly masturbation anxiety, forms the basis not only for mental conflicts but for all neurotic structure as expressed in a person's character and body. The whole living vegetative organism becomes inhibited. Its ability to function freely, in a self-regulating manner, flowing out towards the world, is destroyed by this anxiety. Neill, who also became a sex-economist, upholds this view in his latest book, "The Problem Teacher."

The attitude of the educator is clearly significant throughout the whole course of education. It is impossible to emphasize strongly enough that our unconscious attitudes, our whole outlook, are the decisive factors. Here is one of the greatest dangers of freedom. We give our children a certain proportion of freedom, bringing them up, as we see it, freely. But actually we remove only the superficial inhibitions. This is enough, however, to give the child a strong feeling of release and gratitude, making it feel a deep affection for the person who was the cause of this release. This in turn causes the child to behave, usually quite unconsciously, in accordance with that person's wishes. The teacher exclaims happily: "There you are! I gave the child freedom, and immediately it became as a child should be!" This is the impression the teacher receives, and he deceives himself, the world, and the children as well. One could give countless examples of this state of affairs. More than

anything else this makes it necessary to differentiate sharply between what is *called* a free or progressive upbringing and one which really is free. I once attempted to show that much of the Montessori system followed this principle. If we look around with open eyes we can see it again and again. Its worst effects are found among teachers whose conception of "freedom" stands for practically nothing but uninhibited behavior. Here the result of so-called "progressive education" is the person who believes himself to be "completely free." He meets everyone and everything with exaggerated and uncritical self-confidence and belief in his own worth; all this together with utter lack of respect for anyone or anything. We find this in so-called progressive kindergartens and schools. We must bear in mind what is so often forgotten—that *freedom has nothing whatsoever to do with being uninhibited*. Quite the opposite: uninhibited behavior is nothing but an indication that the ability to choose from existing possibilities is lacking. Real freedom lies in the power to choose from existing possibilities the particular one you feel is right for you to follow.

The fact that we can influence children by handing them a piece of freedom or opportunities for freedom is so well known that it is used or, rather, consciously misused by many pedagogues. In this connection I want to name Anna Freud and one of the most unpleasant educators I know, the Vienna psychoanalyst Aichhorn. He uses the method in question quite consciously. He has an extraordinary ability to make children and young folks feel that he understands them. Then he uses the trust he receives to get them where he wants them, i.e., to inhibit them and make them obedient individuals.

Aichhorn brings us to the most important aspect of all in regard to "the dangers of freedom." Perhaps no other instance can teach us so much. Those of

you who know his book, "Verwahrloste Jugend," know what I mean. For the rest of you, I shall only mention that he took some of the worst "brats" in Vienna out to a camp, some barracks built to stand hard treatment. The camp was the scene of fairly serious battles before the group quieted down. The most important thing was the aggression, the desire to destroy, to take revenge, and all the rage that was revealed. You can see something of a corresponding nature in the outstanding Russian film "The Road to Life." You can read about it in Neill's books, and you can see it in any nursery school where the children are permitted actual freedom. I also find it among all my patients.

It is not difficult to understand. People in general and particularly those discussed here, are inhibited. They suppress their affects, first and foremost their feelings of aggression and, in the widest and narrowest meaning of the word, their sexuality. If we are to help them from a state of inhibition to a state of freedom, we must first allow all the suppressed feelings to flow out. This is what Aichhorn had the opportunity to observe, at any rate, the beginning of it, and it is this phenomenon more than any other that makes people so afraid of freedom as to say: "Man is a brute animal. Are there to be no limits? We'll have nothing but chaos and anarchy!" These and other objections are raised. Only when we understand all these objections and have seen and understood their real basis and realize the importance of the problems we face; only when we have witnessed a good many of the disagreeable manifestations that often arise out of the first measure of freedom and have seen how much evil and maliciousness and sickness people are hiding within themselves, quite without its being their fault, due to all the frustration they have undergone, when we have finally had our eyes opened and have chosen the path to freedom, then and only then may we call

ourselves true advocates of freedom. Then at last we have an opportunity to bring about a truly free way of living. Then we see that freedom leads not to chaos but to order, order that is self-regulating from within. This is the order that leads not to careless and uninhibited behavior but to limits chosen by man himself in accordance with his inner desires. Man becomes not an animal but a real person who can love and work and, if necessary, fight for his love and his work, not wildly and irrationally, but resolutely and consciously. It cannot be denied that we have a long way to go before the irrational creature of today, bound by authority, can become a free and independent human being.

But let's not lose ourselves in theoretical considerations but go on to something more concrete. How does it work out in practice? First, a few kindergarten examples. From one kindergarten, moved to summer quarters in the country, comes a desperate letter from the director: "I am about to drown in wet and dirty pants; one after another, children who have until now been clean are now quite the opposite. What shall I do?" I answer: "Have patience, and things will soon change." This is exactly what happened, but it is easy to understand that the occurrence was no holiday for the personnel of the camp. To say there ought to be more counselors will not solve the problem. The only real solution will come the day the teacher himself fights for and gains the respect due him and his mission; the day society realizes that the minister's mission is to comfort; the lawyer's, to protect society wherever it is threatened; the physician's, to cure where harm has already been done or to prevent it where it is imminent; while the teacher lays the cornerstone for the whole structure, or rather, helps it to develop.

In another kindergarten two older boys held an absolute reign of terror. But even here the teacher was able to hold out until

the problem was solved. In this case the teacher successfully understood the problem that lay at the bottom, the problem which Aichhorn did not dare to tackle although he recognized it. In "The Road to Life" as well, the starting point of the problem was sexual. "Sexual" is used here again in its full connotation. First of all, at any age, there is the problem of surrendering oneself, giving oneself up to the deepest sensations of pleasure. It is a fact that if you suppress feelings of love it leads to a greatly increased desire for aggression. We can therefore not expect this aggression to express itself normally unless there is opportunity for release of the sexual feelings. In the kindergarten mentioned above the children began to talk about sexual matters, genital and anal, in the typically "fresh," guilt-laden manner showing they knew they were on forbidden territory and were only trying to see how much they could get away with. The kindergarten teacher realized what was going on. She took the first convenient opportunity to talk honestly with the children about sex, and in doing this she brought about a much freer and more natural atmosphere so far as sexual matters were concerned. This helped to clear up the aggression and the "fresh" language as well.

It is my impression that we face the same problems with children in grade school, but here I have no experience of my own to rely upon. Neill gives many examples in his books that seem to bear me out. Sometimes it took days, weeks, even months, before a child decided to learn something of his own free will, or to wash himself, etc. As I stated earlier, Neill also believes that the role of sex is absolutely decisive.

During puberty the question of freedom takes on a character of its own. Even in early puberty the problems of becoming free and of breaking with the environment come strongly to the fore, simulta-

neously with strong pressure from sexual desires. This whole period is characterized by deep uncertainty, anxiety, and doubt. The period of puberty offers freedom a great chance. It would undoubtedly be possible to help young people to the utmost to become free and living beings—but at this time such help is practically never forthcoming. The attitude of society, particularly towards sex, during these years, is however so decisive that the problem becomes first and last a social one. This is true to such an extent that S. Bernfeld, the official spokesman among psychoanalytic child psychologists, has written a book with the sole message that so many dangers threaten the youth who succeeds in becoming free and healthy during puberty that possibly it would be better for him to remain neurotic.

Finally we come to the question: What about adults? What happens to them if you give them freedom? Do they also go through a phase during which suppressed and often perverted desires well up and dominate? Yes, this happens quite often! It results in many unhealthy phenomena. I remember with horror a good friend of mine who asked me quite seriously: "Is it freedom to go to bed with your best friend's wife without further ado?" He had just experienced such an example of so-called freedom. I told him that naturally such actions have nothing to do with true freedom but rather with the grossest misunderstanding of freedom. Free people naturally realize that such an act is not something one does "without further ado." This is an example of how freedom is discredited. It shows clearly why many honest and serious people come to believe, "May God preserve us from freedom if that's what it is!" There are people who swallow worse than this. Not long ago I heard of an example of how far this sort of thing can be carried. It had something to do with me as well. Rumors—often highly fantastic—are concocted about me,

as about everyone else who enters the fray of sexual problems. The reason for this will soon be apparent. One of the most common of these rumors is that I have sexual relations with my women patients. I understand that one young girl not only believed this rumor but was "reconciled" to her fate.<sup>1</sup> She had been very strictly brought up and had determined to free herself completely from this upbringing with one blow, with the result that she was left without any ideals. That is where this kind of free thinking, in reality a very deep misunderstanding of free thinking, had brought her. I must say that the idea of a doctor or a person whose business it is to advise his fellowmen misusing—and here we can speak only of misuse—his position by going to bed with his patients, is something I cannot reconcile myself to. There are many other ways in which sexual freedom is misunderstood. Recently, a professor of medicine mentioned in an article the cases of young women among his patients who receive sexual enlightenment and then throw themselves into the arms of the first best man who comes along and as a result have severe nervous breakdowns. Naturally such examples are used as arguments against sexual freedom—and not without reason! There is a good deal of propaganda for sexual freedom which sadly enough degenerates into the so-called "glass-of-water" theory. This

<sup>1</sup> *Editor's note:* I have seen this in two women patients. In part, this belief of patients is a relic from the common misinterpretation of the psychoanalytic concept of "transference" which, in the average lay mind, has the exclusive meaning of "falling in love with the analyst." This misinterpretation was fostered by the common neglect, on the part of the psychoanalysts, of the "negative" transference. In our case, this belief is apt to take on the form of "having to sleep with the therapist." These two patients had the idea that this was an indispensable part of the treatment and had tried to reconcile themselves to it. The idea is due to the above-mentioned misconception of "transference," plus the rumors set afloat by people who have perverse phantasies because they are unable to deal either with their own or their patients' sexuality.

theory states that it is just as natural to go to bed with another person as it is to drink a glass of water. This is of course a completely mistaken belief. A human being's sex life is the source of his greatest joy, the richest well of fulfilment in existence. It is not something that can be compared with the rather nonchalant act of drinking a glass of water. Much the same attitude exists in certain circles about abortions, and there are tragic examples of women who have several abortions and later go to pieces because of sorrow. Naturally these examples are taken advantage of by those who fight against a sensible solution to the problem of abortion. The notion that a person is either moral and virtuous, with a strictly monogamous or ascetic sex life, or else "sleeps around" indiscriminately, is extremely widespread. I once had a very talented and intuitive woman patient who I suspected was well on the way to such a state of affairs. I therefore questioned her very carefully as to whether the relationship she was about to enter upon would be good for her and told her my own doubts, but she was absolutely sure of herself. Yet this did not stop her from claiming much later that I had encouraged her to enter upon it. No harm came of it; she quickly realized that it had only been her own feeling that I meant she must have an affair that in spite of my warning had led her into it. "How can you believe in sex-economy and not have a lover?"

This conception of the "moral life" versus "lust" is closely related to other attitudes quite as widespread that can be formulated as "morality" versus "brutishness." Thus, either you check your desires and live as a "decent person" or else you are a "brute" who can be suspected of almost any vice. If you will only outwardly recognize the rules of official morality you may indulge in as many orgies as you please. The important thing is not to get caught. On the other hand, if you have a

straightforward and open love life there is no limit to the anger and revenge of society. The reason for such reactions is not difficult to discover. Religion and official morality are both equally anxious to teach people that a natural and straightforward sex life is forbidden and filthy. Indeed they succeed in ruining many people so completely that either they stay strictly within the boundaries marked as moral or else they give way to feelings of disgust and lewdness. Since man has a strong tendency to believe that everyone else feels as he does, it seems to him that all who do not believe in his particular ideals of morality *must be* indecent.

Here you have the basis of all the above-mentioned rumors, countless and sometimes unbelievable, which not only travel about but are taken for gospel truth about the very people who openly champion a really decent conception of sex.

The belief that freedom is uninhibited behavior goes far back. As far back as I can remember there have been social circles in our city that have used it as a yardstick. You can still find groups of people among whom it is improper to flirt with your own wife, or where it is considered wrong to even feel bound to someone. Here again we are dealing with people who believe freedom means the absence of bonds. *We believe freedom is the ability to make your own bonds and to loosen them yourself when you wish to do so.* Those who cannot accept bonds and those who cannot loosen them are equally sick, equally imprisoned, because both these inabilities are caused by anxiety. The fear of being bound to someone and of becoming dependent is often as great as the fear of being alone. Most people suffer from both of these forms of anxiety, but usually one or the other is dominant.

Our world today is full of examples showing it is not only sexual freedom that can be abused. Consider the hunting down of certain racial groups and all its brutal-

ity. Consider those who occupy positions of authority and how they misuse their power to oppress those working under them. Think how many would like to go out and take to drink if they only had the opportunity of doing so. Bear in mind the way teachers wield their power over their pupils. Then you will also understand that it is impossible to introduce freedom "just like that" into the school system with its present group of teachers. It does not follow that it is impossible to give much more freedom than is now given.

I have tried to show that people as they are constituted at present are so unused to freedom that even the concept of freedom has changed. That is why so often people absolutely don't know what to do with freedom, or how to use it, when they suddenly become free. That is why freedom is so often feared. Let me give you one more example illustrating the reason for this fear!

From many descriptions of prison life it is clear that many fine people who were imprisoned—most often political prisoners—for a long period, ten to twenty years or more, have experienced their worst crises after being released. They then felt quite helpless, alone and without contact with the world. It seemed utterly strange to them, because *it* had developed, while *they* had slept as in a cocoon behind prison walls, separated from a real existence. Something like this happens to many people who more or less suddenly become released from all the bonds and inhibitions that bound them previously. They are helpless and either give themselves up completely to their desires or else hurriedly do everything possible to find new bonds in order to avoid taking full responsibility for their own lives. The history of revolutions is filled with such examples.

Freedom is beautiful, perhaps the most beautiful of all possessions. But it throws upon people the unusual burden of having

to make their own decisions instead of having authorities, laws and rules decide their lives for them. It thus becomes necessary to help them bear this burden. (One might say that since Rousseau the whole history of modern pedagogy has been a chain of ever-repeated attempts to find the way to freedom. I say ever-repeated because each attempt got stuck somewhere because of the opposition and obstacles that came up).

So far we have considered only the dangers to freedom coming from within, from the inner powers of man himself that are chained, suppressed, and therefore unnatural. As educators and human beings, we must keep our eyes open to these dangers. Only insofar as we succeed in exposing an apparent expression of freedom as nothing more than a rebellion against a previous suppression, in other words, a mask for the lack of freedom, may we expect to succeed in helping ourselves and others attain real freedom.

However, this is merely the groundwork. Practically each step along the road brings us face to face with new opposition and new dangers.

It begins shortly after birth, particularly if the baby is born in a hospital, where so many of the arrangements do not take into consideration the needs of the child. These arrangements follow two well-known rules: the Board of Health "rule-book," with its "regularity and more regularity," never according to the child's own rhythm, but forced on it from the outside, and according to the needs of the hospital. Later on, doctors and pedagogues, all of them "authorities," are equally anxious to teach the child "good" habits of eating, sleeping, cleanliness; etc., and to get rid of "bad" habits such as thumb-sucking, biting, masturbation, sexual curiosity and others.

And there you are, forced to decide whether you will dare carry out your program of freedom, when the doctor, or

perhaps the grandmother, says: "Well, it's your own responsibility." Naturally you don't always dare. Or else there's trouble: the child must go to a hospital, a nursery, a summer camp, and there is no lack of kind people ready to teach the "spoiled darling" to keep himself clean, to "stop crying like that," to stop sucking, etc. Obviously the parent who is well off has a much better chance of overcoming these difficulties than the workingman who lives on the wrong side of the tracks.

Still, the period of early childhood is not the most dangerous nor is it impossible to overcome its dangers. Much greater difficulties face children attending kindergarten or school. Now they come into much greater contact with the outside world and family, neighbors, people on the street or in streetcars, and various official authorities begin to demand obedience. I don't wish to discuss here all the minor dangers in the form of shame, anger, etc., threatening each child who is different from "the way a child ought to be." But one danger is so important for those of you who are kindergarten teachers trying to bring children up in freedom, that you must face it squarely. This danger is that the child may be unavoidably caught in a situation of deep conflict. This may happen when the teacher is giving the child a great measure of freedom while the home, or other parts of the environment, consciously or unconsciously, work in opposition. Such a situation can put the child in a quandary of the worst kind; if you can't get the home environment to change its attitude the only way out is to refuse to take the child into the kindergarten. This is one of the occasions when treatment of the parents is the most important and difficult part of the kindergarten work.

During this period there are also complications from another direction, i.e., when a child wants to induct other children into "bad habits," masturbation or

sexual play, etc., or when he enlightens other children about sex. These difficulties are not too great, however, until the years of puberty. The dangerous period comes a little farther on in school, chiefly for children who cut school and become "vagabonds." Here again my own experience is rather meager. But in the cases I have seen, the children had good reason to stay away from strict and oppressive schools and homes.

If we did not consider that the majority of child care institutions—in their present form—constitute a danger to children, we would naturally have another viewpoint on these questions. But as yet it seems to me that everything we see and hear forces us to this viewpoint. Nowhere is there enough love, and even when there is an honest desire to develop it, the personnel is too limited in number. Practically everywhere the primary concern is to keep the children quiet.

I should like to refer at this point to a case from abroad. A girl of 16, unusually attractive, was brought to a psychiatric clinic. There was nothing whatsoever wrong with her. She had been brought in by the Child Welfare Department of a small country town. When she was about 14 years old and fully developed, the neighbors had her placed in a home for delinquents for having a love affair with a boy of the same age whom she cared for deeply. After that her life became a series of flights from the Home, which always caught up with her and brought her back.

Two years later I saw her by chance again in the same clinic. But now she was suffering from a definite case of hysteria. Her life had continued as before. She had traveled widely, even abroad, but it had been impossible to prove that she had had relations with anyone except the first boy and later only with men for whom she really cared. In spite of her hunted existence she had never prostituted herself and the only time she broke the law was when she and a girl friend took a hotel room without having money to pay the bill.

This case shows, as do Bernfeld's many examples, how destructive is the treatment accorded by society to healthy and free young people. The Child Welfare Department watches over the morals of the young people, as it is called. A man told me he could show me a group of houses in town where the young "savages" are taken away to reform school because of healthy sexual expression during their youth. As a matter of fact, this is not an isolated occurrence. In many countries the youth is threatened by an added danger—the intelligence tests given to determine feeble-mindedness—which in reality mean compulsory sterilization. The doctor is allowed such wide powers of interpretation in these cases that I absolutely cannot feel satisfied or safe, all the more so since I am not convinced as to the dependability of the intelligence tests or the hopelessness of feeble-mindedness (especially the light cases). However that may be, it is undoubtedly true that both sexually and otherwise the dangers attending a free and independent attitude are much greater during puberty. At this time also, strong physical feelings appear, and society has little to offer beyond unemployment and a tragic home environment. Simultaneously, even greater demands are made for "good manners," for example, one should be thankful to one's employer.

And then there are the family quarrels. For many young people, particularly young women, the fear of being thrown out of the home is the greatest obstacle to their own freedom. Add to this the dangers young people face through their own ignorance, and because they do not have access to contraceptive devices or do not dare seek the aid of a doctor to teach them how to use them, etc. At this point more than any other, more freedom is needed. And here particularly, any help is lacking!

Nor are the social dangers of freedom by any means inconsiderable in the case

of the mature person. I am not speaking only of the great leaders of our cultural history, who had the courage and independence to go against the stream. Nearly all pioneers have suffered persecution. They have often been punished by exile or imprisonment. I am not thinking only of pioneers, however, but of each working person who risks his job. Consider the case of a teacher in a country town! Imagine what would happen to him or her if they were to live freely or merely showed serious leanings towards freedom! The intolerance that practically everywhere pursues those who think, feel, or act differently is always sharpest in conservative circles, but it is just as well-developed and inhuman in its expression in the so-called more liberal circles. We have seen this in such liberal cultural organizations as societies for sexual reform and others. I cannot say if the same holds true among so-called progressive educators but Neill says this is the case in England.

The dangers threatening the freedom of mature persons often lie closer home than in organizations or in society generally, e.g., among one's intimate family. No more than to believe in the common idea of freedom can endanger a marriage, as I have recently seen. How much more then, a truly free conception of it! So far as I know, a mere kiss, innocent enough in itself, is often enough to make a young woman wish to have nothing more to do with a man for whom she really cares. You might laugh, if there weren't so much real tragedy in it. We must not forget, however, that these dangers are real. If we want to take the road to freedom, often a very difficult road—and it is worth taking, one's capacity for life grows with each step—we must face all the difficulties and understand that it is our duty to seek to overcome even those which seem to be of minor importance. And we must also understand that for children, the small people of this world—often the biggest,

humanly speaking—the dangers are much greater than for adults, who can rely on authority, position and advice for help.

In the foregoing I have spoken in a general way, emphasizing the idea of freedom, so often and so greatly misused. I have taken as my motto Neill's words: "Let real freedom have a chance, it has so seldom had it." I have disregarded the most serious aspect of the problem, the curative aspect, often purely psychiatric.

However, here we come upon dangers of such proportions that I must call your attention to them. From what I have already stated you will have understood that freedom in education demands more of those who practise it than any other form of upbringing. Consequently I must emphasize that especially in progressive education it is of the utmost importance to recognize the limits of one's knowledge and ability. This becomes particularly important with regard to medical questions, such as the danger of insanity. In dealing with people for whom such a danger exists, in other words with psychopathic cases, the question of a really free attitude as opposed to a forced, so-called free or sensible attitude, takes on particular importance. One of the most tortured human beings I have ever seen was a woman of 50 years, a patient in a psychiatric hospital. The head physician and I were agreed that her condition had been caused by a so-called "wild" psychoanalyst (that is, one not properly trained) who practised "masturbation therapy." He had encouraged this woman, who had been living in sexual abstinence, to masturbate. She was tortured constantly by the strangest sensations in her whole body, not least of all in her sexual organs. This was a very serious case but the occurrence is in itself not uncommon, I believe. Ignorant persons frequently advise people who have unhappy marriages or love affairs to seek sexual satisfaction only—and in this way drive them into conflicts

with which they cannot cope due to guilt feelings and sexual anxiety.

And let me point out here that this is not a matter merely of psychic phenomena.

We have all been brought up to speak of these things (and are even now sometimes forced to do so) as though they were purely mental, touching the organic only in isolated instances. This is not the case. We are dealing with *vegetative* phenomena, i.e., phenomena which are physical and psychic at the same time, as is all being and all form of expression, as is all sexuality, even if at times the physical or mental aspect may predominate. In the example I just mentioned of this tortured woman, the physical expression predominated. Her condition was directly brought on by the compulsion to masturbate and was characterized by violent physical sensations.

On another occasion I have seen a nervous breakdown precipitated by gymnastic attempts to relax the muscles of the face. As contrast, even though I must withhold his identity, I would like to mention the world-famous gymnast whose female pupils experienced the most violent reactions both with regard to sexual liberation and gynecological conditions when he tried to relax their pelvic musculature. He stopped the exercises and said: "This is evidently something fundamental, but I don't understand it and don't know how to manage it. I'll have to leave that to others." *He* knew quite clearly what he was able to cope with and what he ought to leave alone, and was free enough to leave it alone.

This is exactly what I would like to ask you to do: to work for freedom, work to give both yourselves and the children in your care the chance to live according to your and their own true needs so that you and they will be independent and responsible for your own acts.

And don't be frightened when you realize how many problems we are still un-

able to solve. Don't be afraid of the one thing that often seems so difficult: merely to say, "I don't know anything about this particular problem, I don't understand it—I'll have to leave it alone or pass it on to someone else, or find out where I may learn enough about it to cope with it." Only when you yourself know and admit

all that is not free or that is lacking in yourself will you be able to help others attain freedom.

A philologist friend of mine has told me that *freedom* not only actually but purely from the language point of view has the same meaning as *love*.

# THE PLACE OF LITERATURE IN THE CULTURAL STRUGGLE†

By STEFAN HIRNING\*

There is a book entitled "*Dachau*," written by a man who calls himself Walter Hornung and who was himself a prisoner in the concentration camp of Dachau. I shall quote his description of the arrival of a new group of prisoners at the camp.

There were twenty-five of them, mostly young people, but also some older men. At the roll call, they marched up in a separate column, with black and blue marks on their faces, their heads as yet not shaved. An SS man ordered: "Right face, march!" They took them over to the meadow. The wind carried the commands: "Stop . . . Get a move on, you swine! . . . Bend your knees . . . Stretch your arms!"

Soon one heard the sound of the first blows. Then the screaming and the blows continued for quite a while.

"Get up—get down!" "Get up—get down!" Faster and faster. The hobnailed boots landed on hips, buttocks and legs.

The prisoners were no longer able to get up; all they could do was to crawl. One of them remained lying, and an SS man pushed his face into the mud.

Then they had to stand in two rows, facing each other: "Hit each other in the mugs!"

The prisoners did not move. "Well?!"

The SS men stood behind the rows. When their command was not obeyed, they pushed the rows against each other so that the heads bumped. The people stood there rigidly like marionettes.

Now the SS men walked between the

rows and hit each of the prisoners in the face. "That's it! That's the way it's done! Now grab each other's hair and get pulling!"

They did not budge. "Well?! Get a move on!" Some of them began hesitatingly to follow the command.

"What? Nobody yelling?" There were new beatings with the fists and kicks with the hobnailed boots.

"Spit in each other's faces!" The SS men held their pistols cocked. The prisoners spit at each other.

"That what you call spitting? Look here!" An SS captain cleared his throat and spit in the face of one of the prisoners. "That's the way!"

Most of the prisoners cleared their throats and spit at each other. "Now lick the stuff off again! Go ahead!"

Some SS men grabbed the prisoners by the hair, pushed their faces together and forced them to lick it off. Others just stood there, pointing their pistols and roaring with laughter.

This concluded the entrance examination. They were marched off. The SS beating commando left the scene in high spirits.

A good many of these twenty-five were intellectuals. A great part of all the thousands of prisoners in the concentration camps are intellectuals—journalists, artists, teachers, writers. It should be noted—particularly at a time when many circles are inclined to speak disparagingly of the intellectuals—that it is just these intellectuals who, along with the Communists, are considered by the Nazis as unregenerate. It is best, therefore, to liquidate them. There are so many and such easy ways of doing that: shot while trying to escape, suicide, heart attack, appendicitis, etc.

† Translated by the Editor.

\* This is a pseudonym. Present conditions force us, unfortunately, to withhold the names of our European co-workers.

This article was written in 1936. We publish it because, to our knowledge, it is the best thing that has been written on the subject, and because its contents are as true—and as timely—as they were in 1936.

I know that many people will resent being reminded of these things. They would rather think about more pleasant things.

But I believe it is extremely important to keep these things in mind. Particularly, as I am going to speak of "The place of literature in the cultural struggle," is it necessary to remind ourselves of the fact: In this way—and often far worse—are a majority of the men being treated who have played a role in cultural life; this in a country which is not far from ours and which we have always considered closely related to ours and even superior to ours in many respects.

The most important task of literature is this: to reflect the times; to portray reality; to show up and unmask the liars; to show to the swindlers who deceive us how they escape the truth; to show the lies with which we gloss over our own defeats; and the daydreams with which we fool ourselves.

Or put it this way: The task of literature is—right here and now—to utilize such freedom as we still have to prevent if possible a further restriction of this freedom; to prevent a "Dachau" here.

People will object: "But that is all so far away! We have so many other problems to solve. It could never happen here! Think of our national character!"

Well and good. But our national character, great as it may be, can nevertheless not prevent us from being killed by the same kind of bullets, from being poisoned by the same kind of gas, from being whipped with the same kind of lashes, from being confused by the same kind of slogans, or from rotting in the same kind of prisons as people of other nations.

For this reason, I shall disregard for the time being the special task of our own literature and confine myself to what literature has in common in all countries.

There is practically a consensus of opinion in most parties and cultural groups that we find ourselves in a very dark cul-

tural situation. There are signs that the culture of today is on the verge of perishing in its own cubbyholes. Technic develops at a terrific speed and cultural institutions with it. At the same time we see an ever-increasing tendency to what we might call the tyranny of the institution over man.

Wherever we look, we see how the various cultural institutions rapidly become the tombs of the very culture which they were supposed to keep alive. It is almost as if it had become a natural law that any institution, the moment it is created for the purpose of guarding a cultural gain, begins to betray it. In honor of culture, magnificent palaces are erected in which culture is imprisoned in a padded cell.

The Nobel Institute is a typical example. Founded to serve the purposes of peace, this is what it looks like in reality: it seems as if one had to be a general, war minister or member of the munitions industry, otherwise one does not have a chance as a candidate for the Peace prize.

This sinister development is most clearly visible in Germany. There the all-embracing cultural institution, the State, is on the way to becoming a cannibalistic monster. Unblushingly, the new gospel is being preached: Man exists only for the State, for the totalitarian State symbolized in the person of the Führer. And the totalitarian state—explains Ludendorff quite logically—has only *one* goal: the totalitarian war. We do not have to ask what totalitarian war will result in: it must lead to the total extermination of humanity.

The concentration camp at Dachau is not some accidental excess. It is the way in which the totalitarian state, of necessity, must proceed against its natural enemy, the thinking human. And as long as this state of affairs is not an exceptional one, as long as we see similar conditions in Italy, Japan and other totalitarian countries, as long as this emotional and social state of affairs has the tendency to spread, the most

important task for us who consider this development the worst of all disasters, is to clarify the questions:

Is this inevitable? Why is this so? Is this development an inescapable fate to which the world has to resign itself—or can it be stopped and overcome by correct insight and correct action?

If the reaction—as has happened in past years—goes from one triumph to another, then great masses of people develop a defeatist attitude, which attitude paves the way for new reactionary triumphs. There develops a vicious circle, a phenomenon which could almost make one believe in an “evil principle” at work in this world. In the following pages, we will meet this vicious circle again and again.

To a victory of the reaction, a great many people react like this:

“What’s happened and what’s happening seems to be unavoidable. It’s fate.” Or they think in despair, “After all, there must be something to it, if it is so successful.” Or they think, “It’s no use.”

And they become passive, resigned, fatalistic; they fold their hands in their laps and let the evil take its course. It is this fatalistic attitude springing from defeat which paves the way for new defeats. It is this submission to fate which *creates* fate. The question remains: Is this submission inescapable? Is there no way of dealing with it? Our inner answer to this question determines, indeed, our attitude toward all problems of our time.

To begin with, we find the following: this defeatist attitude spreads apprehensiveness and thus conservatism in all previously liberal camps. For what is the core of all conservatism? Passivity, giving in, defeatism. (It is not by accident that the oldsters, those with a weakened vitality, are “naturally” conservative.)

The conservatives think:

It has always been as it is and it will always be so. There is no use doing anything against it. Furthermore, it would be

wrong to do anything against it, because if it is this way it’s probably good. But whatever the arguments may be, they say, first and last: There is no use fighting.

Under this slogan, the innermost meaning of which is, “*Death* is approaching, but there is no use trying to run away from it,” under this slogan incalculable generations of youngsters have been cheated out of life.

One thing is certain: If we give in to this slogan, we betray intellectual life. Conservatism and defeatism never give rise to an intellectual life. The first prerequisite of all intellectual life is: *There is use in it.*

One of the most dangerous results of the triumphs of the reaction and particularly of Hitler is a new and increasing contempt for the masses. This contempt spreads in all camps and paves the way, by tricky means, for reactionary thinking. A vicious circle.

Hitler has given this contempt of the masses startlingly candid expression (he himself being, emotionally, an outspoken “mass individual”). Again and again he has called the masses “pliable putty,” intrinsically passive and feminine, incapable of thinking, but endowed with strong feelings, with a strong unconscious desire to be brutalized, to be ordered around, to be taken in hand and guided. His success would seem to prove him correct.

Another result of the Fascist triumph is an increasing contempt for the woman, an accentuated anti-feminist attitude in many groups. Another vicious circle.

For about six thousand years, during the whole period of history which we call the patriarchal one, the woman has been more or less suppressed. During the past few generations, weak attempts have been made in many countries to give the woman more equality.

What is the result? We don’t have to look far to see that it is a disappointment. This disappointment is not everywhere as tangible as it recently became in Spain.

There, the left parties, after the revolution, achieved for women the right to vote. And then, at the first election, the women went out and voted just as their father confessors had told them to vote: strictly against their own interest, *for* their own suppression, *against* their own right to vote and *against* the very parties which had endeavored to return to them a part of their human rights. That was in Spain. But has not every other country had similar experiences?

After such experiences, one is inclined to think in one's disappointment, "There is no use giving this creature freedom, equality and rights. Plainly, she does not want them." And the reaction triumphs.

But we forget something important. This suppression has existed for thousands of years. It has deposited in all of us an intricate system of ideas, thinking habits and attitudes. The ideas of the inequality of man and woman have become a second nature with us, they have become an organic part of us, they *have changed us*. Then how could something as external as the right to vote suddenly change all this?

He who is being suppressed must of necessity in the long run adapt himself to the suppression; more than that, he must, if possible, derive advantages from it. But to derive advantages from an existing condition means inevitably to accept it, at least to a certain degree.

But not only the suppressed undergo a change; so does the suppressor. This is particularly evident with regard to man and woman. Get a number of men together and let them talk frankly. Regardless of their class differences or nationality, they will soon agree on one point: Woman is *weak*, *false* and a *liar*. And the women among themselves will soon agree that while the man is strong, and good on the football field, etc., he is at the same time stupid and easy to fool. This mutual hatred, this mutual contempt, is the basis of "love" in our times. Contempt, in the man,

breeds brutality. And his brutality breeds—in the woman—slyness, falseness and lying. A vicious circle—to the advantage of all reaction.

If people, from earliest infancy, are brought up to fear, to detest, to condemn and to suppress most of their natural desires, drives and needs, everything that has to do with sexuality; if these people as a result of this repression, gradually become crippled inwardly to such an extent that they themselves continue the suppression even after the external force is removed, they remind one of a person who in the course of time has developed such a fear of all that which is supposedly unclean that he no longer dares ever to clean up his room. He opens the cellar trap and—hastily and looking away—he sweeps everything doubtful down into the cellar and quickly slams the trapdoor again. What he swept down is not necessarily unclean. But when those things go on rotting in the cellar, without light, air and control, and stuff of the same kind is being added to it, it smolders into a heap of forbidden drives, of ungratified desires, of unconscious envy and hatred—until the *repressed* nature of these good people is as sinister, disgusting and dangerous as they believe the whole nature of bad people to be.

The *Evening Sun*, the largest conservative newspaper of the country, is the guardian of our morals. It fights against "pornography and sexual enlightenment"; to it, these two things are practically synonymous. It fights against the freedom of youth, against radical literature, against that horror which they call "the sexual chaos," the thing that would arise were one to eliminate the sexual prohibitions.

We laugh about it or we get annoyed, but we should not forget that from the point of view of their level and from their ignorance of that level, the *Evening Sun* is, in its way, correct.

The *Evening Sun's* unconscious is

pornographic (see above)—and the *Evening Sun* has itself an inkling of this fact. It so happens that in that kind of human the cellar trap does not close hermetically. Thus, a whiff of something occasionally ascends from the cellar to the front parlor.

No, they are right, in a way. There is a good reason why the *Evening Sun* can think of erotic freedom only in terms of brutality, perversions, promiscuity and chaos. There can be no doubt: if one were to free all these good people suddenly, as if by magic, of their sexual inhibitions, bad things would indeed happen. It would be like suddenly letting all the inmates of Sing Sing or Alcatraz out of prison and giving them a loaded gun and saying, Go ahead. Crime and chaos would result.

But we had no intention of liberating the *Evening Sun*. I even apologize for using its name as symbol for a whole milieu. This milieu will perish from its own defects. What matters is the coming generations, the people who have not yet been ruined, who still have a chance for a richer, freer and happier life.

Here, too, we should guard against illusions. They would have evil consequences for us and for youth. We have to realize clearly the fact that in the process of bringing about more freedom, socially, economically and sexually, there also will occur chaotic things. This is inevitable. We must remember that at the age of twenty, a person already has a long life behind him; as far as character formation is concerned, by far the greatest part of his life. In our society, he is, at that age, already broken and suppressed in one or many ways—or else he would not be in need of our help for liberation. There *will be* chaotic things which will cause angry shouts and indignant agitation. He who wants to get over a mountain which lies in his path must be willing to go uphill for a time.

Now as to the central problem, in which the reaction finds its most numerous and willing helpers.

In all kinds of ways, on thousands of occasions, directly and indirectly, we have been told: there is, and there always has been, and always will be, a *fateful and inescapable, a sad but unavoidable conflict between nature and culture*. Intellectual work, in the psychological jargon of our times, stems from the sublimation of the energy of primitive drives. That is, all intellectual work derives its energy, directly or indirectly, from these drives. Conversely, these drives—what is always meant and never mentioned is the sexual drive—if completely gratified, would drain energy, time and interest from intellectual work. Therefore, they are inimical to culture.

Some cultural philosophers have even gone a step further and contend that all culture is based on social injustice. Too bad, they say, but that's the way it has to be. In order to give some people the necessary time and opportunity for cultural work, others have to slave all the harder, at menial work and for less pay, so that there is a surplus for him who sits and thinks. Yes, they say, that is sad and somewhat offensive to our sense of justice, but that's the way it is and always will be.

This cultural philosophy gained some support from Sigmund Freud's later writings. Ordinarily, Freud is thought of as the incarnation of radicalism in psychic life; he was attacked violently for his destructive, revolutionary, poisonous radicalism. Hardly any of those who thus attacked him, however, are aware of the fact that Freud, in his later years, developed into something of a conservative old gentleman. The attackers are unaware of this, because, to be entirely on the safe side, they did not read Freud.

In his early years, Freud made great, epochal discoveries. He discovered infantile sexuality, the existence of which is no longer debated by any thinking person. He found, further, that the prohibition against the natural unfolding of this infantile sexuality, that is, its repression, leads

to all the neuroses which plague the world like a pestilence and represent the most terrifying, the most widespread, the most fateful disease of our times.

By his therapeutic method, Freud was able, in the individual case, to eliminate the neurosis more or less. But it was a method which was costly in time and money and never could become a therapy on a mass scale. What, then, should be done to help the masses of people with *their* neuroses?

The dependence of the masses, their passivity, their anxiousness and their authoritarian submissiveness which make them easy prey to a Hitler, a Mussolini and all the other demagogues, are caused not alone by poverty, poor housing, and all the inferiority feelings connected with these things. They are caused *also* by the neurosis which is produced by a kind of education the main function of which is that of suppressing and immobilizing major parts of the vital energies.

We must ask: Must this be so? Is it, indeed, necessary to keep the masses suppressed, in dirt, rags, and poverty, in order to make it possible for culture to exist?

A very high percentage of women in Europe and America are frigid, sexually cold; their central source of life and joy is extinguished; they experience living with the man as a painful burden; they finally begin to hate sexual life and the man; they make living together a hell and transfer their anxiety and their hatred to their children. This is caused in part by ignorance and brutality on the part of the man, an ignorance caused and maintained by anxiety, and in part by a genital anxiety acquired by the woman in childhood.

But that is how things are. One used to think that about half the women were more or less frigid. Later, more extensive investigations showed these figures to be much higher: at least 90 percent of the people are psychic invalids, are broken and rotten in a most essential part of their

vital functioning. Should they continue to be invalids in order to make it possible for cultural philosophers to sit in their ivory towers and think?

Here, Freud and his school have evaded the central issue in a definite way and to an increasing degree. They cure the individual case and then, when the sick, frightened individual is delivered from his fears and the sexual life energy becomes free, they try to immobilize it anew. There it is, the energy, but if it were going to be used for what it should be used, well—one might come into conflict with traditional morals. So, the energy has to be sublimated, into intellectual work, esthetic enjoyment, athletic achievements, etc.

In fact, in his later works Freud gave support to the conservative, Christian, puritanical and ascetic concept that culture develops at the expense of natural drives, that, in other words, there is an antithesis between nature and culture.

But other investigators have corrected these errors of Freud and have developed his investigations further. Here, Wilhelm Reich has to be mentioned in the first place. He not only developed further Freud's depth-psychological work, but also utilized depth-psychological findings sociologically, pointing out the inescapable consequences which have to be drawn from this knowledge. Of his works, I wish to mention especially the following:

*Massenpsychologie des Faschismus,*  
*Einbruch der Sexualmoral,* and  
*Die Sexualität im Kulturkampf.*

Three books which nobody who wants to become acquainted with the cultural problems of our times can afford to ignore.

What do Reich's findings show with regard to the contention of the necessity of a conflict between nature and culture?

Yes, they show, *there is* such a conflict between nature and culture. But what culture? The authoritarian, patriarchal culture.

*This* culture, indeed, is based on two

principles: economic exploitation and sexual repression. But why is sexual repression necessary? Because it is one of the essential means of economic enslavement.

Sexual repression is one essential element in an education which has as its main goal that of instilling *fear* in the child, of giving it *guilt feelings*, of dinning into it all kinds of prohibitions, and of making it quiet, devout, apprehensive and dependent.

The sexual prohibition is the most important of these prohibitions, the most fateful of them, that which requires the greatest amount of energy for its maintenance.

This is really the way it is. The kindly, dependent, apprehensive, warped adult really consumes an essential part of his vital energies in the process of *suppressing* his vital energies, in obedience to the rules which in early, painful, now forgotten years were drilled into him by his parents who had been suppressed in the same manner; parents who, unwittingly, took revenge on their children for the suffering which was inflicted on themselves when they were children. Here we have the vicious circle at its worst, in its most terrifying form.

In other words, it is not true that suppression of natural drives *as such* furthers cultural achievement. Rather, this suppression serves the purpose of maintaining a definite social and cultural *status quo*. It makes man weak, cowardly, indolent and stupid, and at the same time insecure, full of guilt feelings, easy to manage, easy to exploit. It makes him a member of the masses which become putty in the hands of ruthless demagogues.

Now, let us assume that this man, seemingly, rises above the mass. He becomes an intellectual worker and may imagine himself to have attained a position outside and above the struggle of parties and classes, a free man, guided only by his free thinking which he himself creates. But wait a moment. The devil has moved along with

him. Sexual repression took hold of his body when he was a child—it is still with him. He is full of inhibitions, full of fear of complete vital fulfilment, though he may put it differently. He may say: *he has risen above the animal in himself*, or what not. Very frequently, he becomes more and more hateful of those who *allow themselves* full happiness in life. He may express it like this: *he fights for purity*. Actually, it means this: with all his intellectual freedom, he nevertheless is an obedient executive of that fear of life which once was forced upon him.

So one has to ask: Will not culture be endangered if the natural vital drives are given the freedom to develop? The answer is: certainly. That culture which is built upon suppression and fear will be endangered. That culture which lives on slavery, that culture which buys one fellow's wealth—no, not even wealth, his burdensome superabundance—with the misery of hundreds of human beings; this culture will be in danger once the natural vital forces are free to unfold in enjoyment and cultural achievement.

In short: the struggle for economic freedom and the struggle for sexual freedom are not two separate kinds of struggle. It is the same struggle, on one and the same front. One can go a step further and say: the fight against the reaction will not be effective until this fact is again recognized as a fact.

What, then, is the task of literature in all this? As we said, the task of literature is to reflect the times and to convey new insights. To this I would like to add: If, in doing so, literature fails to take the side of the weak against the strong, it has, nevertheless, failed in its task.

One may object: does that not mean making the confines of literature too narrow, too programmatic? Think of freedom . . . Well, freedom is a fine thing. And people, writers no less than others, certainly are entitled to their right of self-

determination. But when a fellow sits down to figure out a particularly clever, patentable water pail at a time when his house is burning over his head, well, we may not take away his right to self-determination, but we will feel that something must be wrong with him. Similarly, when a writer, in these our times, loses himself in exclusively esthetic problems—"art for art's sake"—we may be allowed to say: something must be wrong with him. We cannot be blamed for showing little interest in his esthetic water pail.

In these times, when culture threatens to be buried under cultural institutions, when discipline is proclaimed the greatest virtue, when murder is being made the highest goal in life, in these times literature has more difficult and more important tasks than ever. It has to be a salient and corrosive corrective of present-day circumstances. It seems to me that writers, due to their special characteristics, good and bad, are particularly suited to such sanitation work.

Not because they are superior to their fellow humans, but because they are a little different in a specific way.

Writers are very often people who have found it difficult to fit into a certain social mold. Well, if an object does not fit into a mold, the trouble may be with the mold or it may be with the object. The writers have the advantage of being sort of moving objects in a society which is in danger of becoming immobile. Furthermore, the writer is relatively—I emphasize, relatively—independent of the major cultural institutions. Writers, like artists in general, have the reputation of being a little less easy to rule than people in general. They seem somewhat like problem children.

But the childlike quality which the artists have retained and which in other people is more covered up because of fear of what this and that and the other person would think if they showed it—this quality is nothing but original nature within

us. On the strength of this original nature, the artists establish contact with their fellow humans. On the strength of this original, still living nature, literature may fulfil a task in a world in which logic and technic have developed in a crazy, life-hostile form and continue to grow out of bounds like a cancer.

Here we need a yelp from one of these problem children. It was one of these problem children who exclaimed at one time, "But he's got no clothes on!"

We have to keep this in mind: If such a literature is to have any justification for existence, it must go beyond the limits of what is considered *fitting*. The reason lies in the word itself. What is "fitting" is that which fits the powers that be. *But it cannot be the task of literature to suit the powers that be.*

If literature is really to be serious and "unfitting," it will inevitably be called irresponsible and immoral. It will be accused of "tearing down that which is sacred."

But there is hardly any indecency in the world which was not declared sacred at one time or another. And hardly any decent thing which was not declared immoral.

Thus, anyone who intends to achieve something positive in our times will have to expect to be called negative. There is even some justification in calling him that. For that which is warped and indecent has authority and power. Thus, anyone who wants to build up something is forced, to begin with, to pull down something else. Anyone who believes in something—really believes, I mean—will have to criticize, to deride, to annoy.

In times like these, characterized by falsehood, excess and abuse as well as by people's stupidity, credulity and readiness to be abused, literature may be forced to use harsh methods. One does not go at a manure pile with a silver spoon.

We have to be prepared to do literary

spade work for a long time, perhaps all our lives, work in the actual everyday struggle, without a chance of seeing results during our lifetime. But we have to do it, we have to be prepared to be that simple. Our predecessors were somewhat too refined.

Our predecessors worked so nicely with intricate equations that the whole world came to forget that two times two still make four. We have to be prepared to pay for that.

This is nothing to cry about, at that. Most writers who in their foolishness sit in their ivory tower and write for eternity achieve nothing but the erection of an eternal monument to their foolishness. Their work usually has no other interest, not even for the present.

To summarize:

It is *not* true that the often irrational behavior of woman proves her inferiority and that, therefore, the age-old suppression of woman is justified. The truth is that continued suppression always results in inferiority. It is the task of literature to show this.

It is *not* true that nature and culture are of necessity opposed to each other and that suppression of the natural impulses, fear of a natural life, are prerequisites for intellectual achievement.

The truth is that a healthy enjoyment of life is the soundest basis for intellectual work. And it is one of the tasks of literature to show this. Incidentally, the poets have always been more or less aware of this truth and have defended it, although

vaguely. *Back to nature*, they said, which meant implicitly, *Away from culture*; instead of: *Ahead toward a unification of nature and culture*.

It is *not* true that the masses always have to be passive and receptive, nothing but putty to be shaped by someone, to have their opinions and actions determined by the few and chosen. That is the way it *is*, the way it often *has been*, but it does not have to be that way always! That is not *fate*; it is a transitional stage. Neither is it an inescapable fate that mentally ill demagogues are able to establish contact—just on the strength of their illness—with that which is ill in the masses and thus become able to play “Führer” roles. This is a sad transitional stage. And it is one of the tasks of literature to help in the transition to something else.

It is *not* true that that which is so and so and has been so and so also has to remain so forever. It is not true that suppression always has to exist in one form or another, creating hatred which in turn leads to revolution and revenge and with that to new suppression and new hatred.

It is *not* true that humanity is condemned to go around and around forever and ever in this miserable circle of fear and suppression, hatred and revenge. There is a way out of this circle. The way out is *knowledge*, a new and sharper knowledge.

This, the conveying of a clearer, more open, less apprehensive knowledge in *all* fields, is the main task of literature.

# CHARACTER AND SOCIETY†

By WILHELM REICH, M.D.\*

*Editor's note:* This article was written in Europe and before the present war. Many statements in it pertain specifically to pre-war Germany. However, to the discriminating reader this article will be of interest because many observations pertain not to Germany alone, but to all countries alike. The publication of this article at this time will enable the reader to recognize those facts which are as true of America in 1942 as they were of Europe in 1936, and to distinguish them from those other facts which have been forced on us in defense against the threat of Fascism. "Militarism" is a characteristic of Germany, but not of America. Though not an American characteristic, it has been forced on us now by the threat of Hitler. But the fact has to be kept in mind that militarism, even if enforced upon a nation from the outside, has an inherent tendency to perpetuate itself. This is apt to happen unless we are careful not to lose sight of the distinction between killing *for pleasure* and killing *in self-defense*.

In order to make my main subject clear, I have to start out with a brief historical review of the position of psychology in science. It originated from highly complicated developments in science, against the background of a medieval atmosphere of mysticism. The beginning of the machine age led to the development of mechanistic materialism which influenced human thinking decisively. On the one hand, the physical sciences led to enormous discoveries; on the other hand, their application to the problem of psychology and philosophy led to a complete denial of the existence of the psyche. As a reaction to mechanistic materialism, there arose a metaphysical ideology which considered the body dependent on the mind, and the latter as something supernatural. To this day, there are various psychological schools which treat the problems of psychic life without any connection with their material basis.

The first basis of a scientific psychology was laid by Freud. He introduced genetic

and causal thinking into psychology. At that time the questions, "Why is this so or so in psychic life?", or "How did it develop?", were unusual; today, they are a matter of course in psychological thinking. To try to understand human activity from the individual development meant also the application—even though unconscious—of the functional method in psychology. The introduction of the *concept* of "psychic energy" was revolutionary; however, Freud did not succeed in making this concept more than a simile.

All psychological schools stop at two lines. One line is that against *biology*. It is not very sharply drawn; the question as to how psychic functioning develops out of biological functioning was ever present in psychoanalytic work. In contrast, Freud drew a very sharp line against *sociology*. More than that, one feels that stepping over that line is actually being dreaded and prevented by all means.

A few decades before the beginnings of a scientific psychology, Marx laid the foundation for a scientific sociology. He realized the dependence of human activity and social ideology on social and economic processes. To this dependence, Freud added

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another: the dependence on unconscious drives. During the past twenty years, the seeming incompatibility of these two views has been shown again and again. On the one hand, human existence seemed to be determined by economic and sociological factors, and on the other hand, by biological drives. The problem was made even more difficult by a certain development in psychoanalytic psychology: the increasing tendency to "psychologize" sociology as well as biology, that is, to attempt to comprehend sociology and biology with the aid of concepts which can be valid only in the sphere of psychic functioning. True, Freud's point of departure had been the conflict between ego and outer world; it was not difficult later to recognize authoritarian society as the concrete factor in the outer world. But it soon became clear that the correct recognition was covered up and nullified by a biologicistic concept of the absolute and eternal nature of the family and of the unconscious. On the other hand, the lack of psychological thinking in Marxism led to economism, an ideology characterized by a complete lack of understanding of psychological facts and processes; it was one of the main factors in the victory of the political reaction in Germany. Freudian psychology, on its part, showed an equal lack of consistent sociological thinking; it remained unaware of the dependence of all psychic processes on the social process. This lack of psychological thinking on the one side, and of sociological thinking on the other, was a serious obstacle in the development of Marxist sociology as well as of psychanalysis.

The repudiation of the erroneous theoretical development in psychoanalysis and in economism resulted in sex-economy and political psychology. Their chief characteristic is that they have abandoned the respect for the two above-mentioned demarcation lines. In this psychology, the drives and the unconscious are no longer something either supernatural or somehow the

root of all things, but they are something which can be comprehended from two sides, the biological and the sociological. Only if we fully recognize this double dependency is it possible to comprehend the laws of psychic functioning, those that have already been uncovered as well as those which still are to be discovered. This raises two fundamental questions: First: *What is the relationship between the psychic and the somatic?* Without an answer, in terms of natural science, to this essentially unsolved question, the dynamics of psychic life, particularly of emotional life, cannot be understood sufficiently to develop a basis for practical endeavor. This question I shall not enter upon today. Second: *What is the connection between psychic structure and social structure?* I shall try to sketch a few of these connections.

Freud's genetic causalism made it possible to understand for what reasons of individual development a person had become as he was and not any different; however, this purely genetic and individual knowledge does not suffice to change an actual situation. For example, I can find out exactly what historical conditions led to the development of Fascism; but, no matter how many of these historical conditions I collect, they still do not indicate how Fascism might be overcome.

The same is true in psychic life. If an individual gives the impression of being beaten and I find that genetically this derives from severe oppression and beatings in early childhood, I will be able to understand every single trait of this beaten attitude; but that does not suggest how the individual could possibly overcome this attitude. If it is found that people react in an infantile manner because they have remained fixed in certain developmental stages, we must ask a further question: *What makes them maintain this infantile attitude, today, under changed circumstances?*

The Freudian concept of fixation in the infantile does not answer the question, for fixation itself is nothing but a description of the fact that these people remain infantile. Nor is the answer that it is repression which maintains the fixation satisfactory, for: what gives to the repression its strength and tenacity? The answer is simple. The same factors which, in infancy, produced repression and the fixation on the infantile level, continue to act throughout life, exactly in the sense of the early developmental inhibition. It is not a matter of a psychic state which was created at one time and continued to exist by itself, without any external influence; it is a matter of an inhibitory influence exerted by society all along. The fixation on an infantile level of sexual gratification can persist only for the one reason that society continues to prevent the attainment of actual sexual gratification. With that, we arrive immediately at the problem of social structure. The question arises: *What interest has society in keeping people on an infantile level by denying them the possibilities of developing a full love life?* This question had never been answered; more than that, it had not been raised.

In this connection I would like to try again to clarify a common and stupid misunderstanding. In discussions about the role of psychology in sociology one hears again and again a typical objection: "But, what about economic factors?" Erroneous concepts have an incredible longevity. There is no more erroneous question than this. The economic existence of man cannot be contradistinguished from his psychic existence. There are no factors in human existence which do not exert their influence through psychic life.

The effect of machines does not lie in the fact that they run, but in the fact that *people* work with them and that by doing so they change structurally. Human existence in general and social existence in particular have an effect only on the basis of

the changes they bring about in human structure and the activities which they force on people.

Now, as to character formation. By character, sex-economy means the typical way of reacting which has become structure. If groups of people, as, e.g., laborers, businessmen, etc., have a certain typical behavior in common, this behavior represents the influence of a typical common social situation upon their structure. Character formation is the result of an impact between vegetative, biological instinctual energies on the one hand and social existence on the other. But it is not a matter of the abstract and theoretical finding that character structure results from the conflict between biological and sociological factors. What matters is that *the resulting character traits are functionally identical with certain factors of our social structure and ideology.*

Biological functioning is governed by the laws of development, by the processes of storing and discharging energy, by a rhythmic alternation of activity and rest. The alternation of storing and discharging energy is experienced as a pulsation and a current in the body. There are people who appear completely rigid, un-alive and devoid of emotion, who have never known or admitted impulses of anger, love or anxiety. Today, character-analytic technique enables us to make these people again experience these vegetative currents and their biological pulsation. Previously, the patients complained that they did not feel alive, that they felt dead, etc. This means that by dissolving the rigid character attitudes, which are experienced as an armoring, we can liberate biological energies which were previously bound up. It was found experimentally that these energies are identical with bio-electrical energy [orgonotic energy, as we would say now.—Ed.].

This is of fundamental importance for character formation. Let us illustrate the

conflict between vegetative impulse and social pressure with the sphincter training of infants as it is practised in our society. We know that up to the age of three or four, children can be very much alive, and that at the age of about five they begin to go cold; they become "well-behaved." They lose the essential part of their motility. As things are today, this loss is essentially due to the prevailing method of sphincter training. If the child gives in to its impulse to soil, it is severely rebuked; the same is true of many other motor impulses. A conflict arises between "I want to" and "I may not." At first the child is torn between giving in to the desire on the one hand and fear of punishment on the other. It cannot stand this situation for long. It has to fight its own impulses, but also the prohibition. The child, previously active and lively, begins to watch itself; its muscular attitudes lose their naturalness and become rigid; the child becomes cold and rigid, in short, a "well-behaved" child who has adjusted itself to education, i.e., to society. While previously it showed a rhythmical biological alternation of tension and relaxation, it now begins to show a mechanism which is of decisive importance for the development of that contradictory character structure which is typical of authoritarian society. True, the newly acquired coldness and rigidity immobilize a part of the vegetative energy, but the body continues to produce new amounts of energy. But now, an inhibitory mechanism being present, the energy cannot be discharged as freely as before. Due to this inhibition of energy discharge, the pressure from within keeps growing; this necessitates an ever-increasing inhibition of the impulses. This chronic mechanism of inhibition I termed the *armor*. It expresses itself in character attitudes as well as in muscular attitudes. Everybody can feel the wall between himself and the world. It shows itself in the fact that one cannot establish an immediate natural contact

with people, in unnatural attempts to establish contact, in compulsive sociability, the fact that one can be lonely even though in company, etc.

After the armoring has taken place, there is a conflict between instinct and inhibition (morals or anxiety) which previously did not exist, because the child was born without morals and its activities were regulated by the biological principle of tension and relaxation. The difference between *natural biological self-regulation* and *moral regulation* of instinctual life is like that between a natural river and one that is dammed up. Under natural conditions, the river runs according to the natural contours of the land and according to its amount of water; when dammed up, it inundates the land and forms all kinds of secondary streams which may cause serious destruction. Exactly the same happens in instinctual life. The natural drives of the child, to eat, to suck, to exercise its musculature, to derive pleasure from its intestinal function and its genital, remain socially harmless and only further the child's development as long as they are not being inhibited. In the course of natural development, one interest after the other is replaced by a new one. However, society inhibits each successive phase of development by educational measures; this inhibition again and again creates artificial, unnatural cravings. The child acquires a sharp discrepancy between its own natural being and that which culture implants in it. This discrepancy merely reflects the absolute contradiction of culture and nature, of instinct and morality which is the characteristic of modern society. The natural reaction of the child is replaced by the compulsive antithesis of "this is bad" and "this is good." A child with a strong impulse to motor activity, having to wear a clean party dress and having to be careful not to get "dirty," because the mother likes it to look like a cute little doll, is one of the sorriest spectacles. Our experiences

leave no doubt that such suppression of infantile motor activity is one of the most harmful influences a child may experience. The control which the child has to exercise over itself, quite unnecessarily and only for the sake of a dubious "refinement," results in a disturbed household of its vegetative energy. This process of replacing natural behavior by artificial attitudes can be observed in every aspect of the child's life.

A second illustration of the armoring as a result of the conflict between instinct and outer world is the pleasure anxiety which takes its definite form in puberty. Adolescents of 11, 12 or 13 are still quite lively or have again become so; at the age of 16 or 17 they change again and grow cold as they did as children. With adolescents of about 14 or 15, one usually can talk rather freely about their sexuality; afterwards, it is more difficult, because they become inaccessible. This change from aliveness to coldness is a repetition of the same process which took place in childhood.

The most general result for character formation is the mutual lack of contact and the replacement of natural human relationships by artificial, formalistic relationships. In spite of our collective living, there are only rare individuals who are not fundamentally lonely, empty and superficial. This psychic situation creates the longing for "release," even for "dissolution" (vegetative, orgasmic longing). People have lost the capacity for freely swimming in the current of life. If, deep inside, they feel their will to live, but, due to their armoring, cannot express it, they must needs develop a longing for the "great experience." This longing is sentimental, or dreamy, and in most cases very vague and confused; it is a longing for something which will release them from their armor, from their isolation. In addition, people who cannot express their living motor activity must of necessity become afraid of life, helpless in the face of tasks

and happenings which, under normal circumstances and with their knowledge and technic, they could master without any difficulty. On the one hand, they are too well adjusted to the destructive demands of so-called culture; on the other hand, they have lost the ability to overcome real difficulties with which the times, circumstances and social processes confront them. One has only to listen to the usual conversations on the street, in the family, the restaurant, etc. What people say to each other is incredibly superficial; it does not touch upon the real problems of life; it shows complete lack of critique in the face of the most stupid ideologies. More than that, there is no doubt that the average human of today does not like being brought in contact with serious questions. Behind this dislike, one easily discerns a deep fear. The facial expression of people on the streets and their whole bodily attitude are cowed, un-alive; they reflect the misery of life.

However, it would be erroneous to conclude from this superficiality, as the "God-sent" Führers of millions do, that people are so stupid that you can pour into them whatever you want to. These same people who appear so superficial, empty and stupid, develop, under treatment, abilities, attitudes and a thinking which not infrequently can compare with that of great thinkers. This is no exaggeration. It only means that the general inhibition of life is reflected in the inhibition of the individual's capacity to be really himself. People are different on the outside and the inside, they are one way in a good friendship and another way in official life; different in their professional life and their private life. Life as we see it around us is a *substitute life*.

Let us try to get a general idea of the connection between the ideological structure of our society and the psychic structure of its individuals. Mechanized economy, this characteristic of our civilization,

is reflected in the mechanized human, in the empty life led by the factory or office worker of today from his 16th to his 60th year.

The problems we are dealing with here are found in a realm which official science is loath to approach. I have been observing for months the following picture in my neighborhood: Across the street lives a young official with his wife and a small child. Every morning on the dot of nine he leaves the house. On the stoop, he takes leave of his wife and child with a perfunctory kiss on the forehead and then he waves to them. Then he takes five or six steps, turns to the left and again waves bye-bye. We have no reason to doubt that he will repeat this same thing for another 30 years. One must ask oneself what mechanisms make it possible for a living being to carry out such automatic behavior, how he can stand it and how he can fail to take cognizance of it. Sex-economic clinical experience answers this question only in part. It explains the dynamics and the mechanisms of such unnatural behavior. But it does not explain the social function of such a phenomenon.

The fact that people of our civilization are cold, that they are walking corpses, that they are armored, is a highly important and interesting clinical phenomenon. But what function does it serve in society? We know that there is a profit economy and how it functions. But we have to ask the further question: How is it possible that people can bear it, that they are unable to change it, that they seem to endure in silence the suffering it imposes on them? The majority of people are being suppressed and exploited. The police does not have the function of satisfying people's "need for punishment," as some psychoanalysts contend; it has the function of keeping people from voicing their protests in an effective manner. The decisive factor lies in the average human character structure, in its false modesty and lack of criti-

cal faculties. From infancy on, people are trained to be falsely modest, self-effacing and mechanically obedient, trained to suppress their natural instinctual energies. Social ideology is governed by asceticism and duty in the service of a senseless "altruism." These basic elements of any reactionary ideology are represented in the human character structure by the *pleasure anxiety* which was acquired in childhood, and the inability to experience work as pleasure instead of as loathsome duty. Character-analytic therapeutic experience shows clearly that individuals who have come to know pleasure in activity and work become unable to engage in the usual kind of pleasureless work as duty without developing a strong inner aversion to it. But this aversion, the inner protest, on the part of the majority of people, would be the first prerequisite for a change of work itself.

In the ideology of our society, the antithesis of *morality and sexuality* plays a decisive role. Owing to this fact, hardly any human in this society can engage in a pleasurable activity without reacting, consciously or unconsciously, with guilt feelings. The antithesis of sexuality and morality in social ideology is also found in the human structure. It is anchored there physiologically in chronic muscular spasms which prevent the occurrence of biological sexual excitation.

Another example which strikes every thinking person is the fact that vast masses of people fulfil the ideology of "dying for one's country" with such punctiliousness, even abandonment. How is it possible, we must ask ourselves, that such a life-negative demand is accepted without any protest? That the demand is made is not the problem. The problem is the question as to why millions of people actually follow the demand and die for a country whose brutality and life-negating program is obvious. The usual answer is that the people are forced by machine guns to do

so. But if one looks at the behavior of the masses previous to the world war and now, one must conclude that this is not the answer. There is something at work in the people themselves which saves those interested in making war the necessity of using machine guns. Let us examine this in terms of an illustration.

Imagine the youth of 18 to 25 in any small place. The young people are lonely, unsatisfied in their material and cultural needs, unsatisfied in their natural biological needs, bored with their work, and tremendously suppressed at home. They hang out on street corners, killing time telling silly stories and displaying thoroughly unnatural sexual interests. Bored and dissatisfied as they are, the longing for the "great experience" inevitably becomes a central part of their structure. We have to remember that this longing has a very material basis in the above-described longing for the release from instinctual pressure. We are going through times now in which the magnitude of these phenomena becomes unequivocally clear. War is imminent; everybody has the feeling that nothing can be done about it; they are convinced that it will come like a fate and that it cannot be escaped. Of course, the fear of dying, of being crippled, etc., is there in all its biological strength; but it is completely drowned out by the emptiness of life, the sexual loneliness and the resulting longing for the "great experience." Italy demonstrated what war enthusiasm can spring from this longing. It is completely senseless to try to meet such facts with anti-war proclamations or propaganda. The broad masses have a more or less nationalistic attitude and are not impressed by any dry anti-war propaganda. It is not a matter of proclaiming pacifist sentiments, but of liberating, in actual life, those forces which alone can overcome the destructive power of the unfulfilled vegetative longings.

Just a few words about another example

from human pathology, the enormous role of alcohol in the life of the suppressed masses. Its function in the present social life becomes clear when one considers the motives of alcoholism. An essential aspect of the character armoring is the dulling of self-perception, the paralysis of sensations in the body periphery, which makes the body surface feel like an armor. Alcohol dilates the peripheral vessels and thus temporarily relieves the internal tension, provides the feeling of relaxation and makes one forget one's troubles. We do not deny the role played by oral erotism and homosexuality, but we realize how much more important than these academic findings is the fact that the average human feels empty and cold. This fact is nowhere mentioned in any scientific treatise on alcoholism.

Another example is the effect exerted by the movies. 98% of all modern films are love stories. They are all made according to one and the same formula: in the beginning they provoke in the audience all the desires that in actual life remain unfulfilled and give them an illusional satisfaction on the screen. Sexual experiences *outside* marriage, happiness in love between unmarried people, ridicule of the Babbits, etc., are dominant subjects in the early part of most films. But just as every screen love story begins with the affirmation of sexuality, so it ends with a glorification of a sex-negative morality. The films show quite clearly that business interests comprehend the general human longing for pleasure and happiness and know how to exploit it. But the gratification is not allowed to be real. The end of the story is the negation of life and pleasure, the arousal of guilt feelings, the portrayal of "well-deserved" punishment for plucking the forbidden fruit of pleasure. The problem which the film seemed to present at the beginning is not solved; on the contrary, it is again buried. The people will come back and keep the box-office busy.

We can say: Human structure and its contradictions fit into the structure of social ideology like two cogs of a machine.

Society as an institution reproduces itself not primarily by its laws, its bureaucracy or its police, but essentially by creating a basis for itself in the character structure of the masses. It creates in the average person a political helplessness and a lack of independence, the desire and the need to be led; it does this by means of authoritarian education and sexual suppression. The average human, brought up in this manner, understands nothing of the large social issues; all he knows is the small sphere of his own personal life, and very little about that. He needs to lean on somebody, he needs illusory gratification, mystical hope, ideals which are never realized and are impossible of realization. The society of today corresponds to this psychic structure. Social ideological structure and psychic structure are functionally identical.

It is not so that the so-called human consciousness is merely a reflection of social processes and conditions. Rather, society, by suppressing the natural instincts and thus changing them into antisocial drives, which in turn must be inhibited by morals, creates a character structure which corresponds to this society and in which the ideology of this society can anchor itself. In other words, society is not the result of a certain psychic structure, but the reverse is true: character structure is the result of a certain society.

What is anchored in the human structure is not natural conditions, but essentially mechanized civilization. I have had the fortune—or if you will, misfortune—to study the character of many people in many different countries. I found that their natural differences are completely irrelevant compared with what they had in common in their structure. What is the biological difference between a white baby and colored one? Do they

not develop fundamentally in the same way? What they have in common in infantile motor activity, infantile thinking, infantile way of looking at things, infantile sexuality, etc., is incomparably more important than the differences which are determined by their race. Only a peculiar kind of “scientist” can manage not only to overlook such facts, but to participate in building up a completely irrational ideology of race with its life-destroying tendency.

The average human who has gone through an authoritarian upbringing finds himself in an eternal and usually insoluble conflict between his psychic structure and his social existence. When therapy dissolves the pathological inhibitions of the natural drives, and people thus re-establish a natural contact with their own drives, with their own selves and their environment, moral regulation becomes unnecessary. This fact is usually misunderstood, simple as it is. To use again an old example: If a man is hungry and unable to obtain food, he automatically develops the impulse to steal; if he steals, he is threatened with jail; so he inhibits the impulse to steal. After a good meal, the impulse to steal disappears automatically; if the impulse is not there, no inhibition is needed. This simple mechanism applies to the more complicated situation of sexuality. If the natural demands of sexuality are re-established and are satisfied, there is no reason for the development of anti-social impulses and consequently no need for moral inhibition.

People who lack sexual gratification—be it for internal or external reasons—are constantly obsessed by phantasies of rape or perverse impulses of one kind or another; if they become capable of natural gratification, these perverse impulses disappear, and with them any need for their moral inhibition. In this way the antithesis of morals and instincts can be *eliminated*—even though only in the individual case.

Moral regulation then is replaced by an entirely different mode of regulation, sex-economic *self-regulation*.

Once one has comprehended these facts, they become a matter of course. However, there is one difficulty which the majority of scientists try hard *not* to see, in order not to come into conflict with it: the barriers which society places in the way of instinctual gratification. Even in individual therapy we are bound to come up against them sooner or later. When, for example, a girl of 17 or 18, who has fallen sick as the result of suppressing her adolescent sexuality, becomes aware of her asexual needs, she comes immediately into conflict with everything that represents "good moral behavior." Hardly anybody has any idea of the social obstacles which today stand in the path of a consistent character therapy. The alteration of psychic structure from the principle of moral regulation to that of sex-economic self-regulation presents an enormous perspective. However, one should not have any illusions as to its practicability. Such an alteration of psychic structure on a mass scale, based on a sexual hygiene according to the consistent affirmation of pleasure, is at present impossible. The reason is obvious: every prerequisite for such a change is lacking in our society.

I have tried to show the significance of the prevailing character structure for the present-day social structure. As soon as one tries to change human structure, society objects most strenuously. Everyone working in this field is soon made to realize that a general solution of the pathological conflict in the human presupposes a solution of the existing social conflicts. That is, an alteration of the social structure is a prerequisite for an alteration of psychic structure on a mass scale.

The interrelation of social structure and character structure goes still further. The social processes are contradictory. In the field of economy, conservative, inhibiting

forces are contradicted by forward-driving forces; for example, national tariff boundaries on the one hand, world-economy on the other. Collectivism of work is undoubtedly a great step ahead, but it is contradicted, in every aspect, by the neurotic fixation to the family. These examples could be multiplied indefinitely. In the character structure, we also find forward-driving and opposing conservative features. The desire for collective living, for a life that is really alive, for happiness, for genuine human contact, for joyful productive work, all these tendencies are opposed not only by the social structure, but also by such inner factors as fear of chaos, feeling of impotence, psychic rigidity, dependence on authority, etc. Conservatism in society thrives essentially on the psychic inhibition in the people; it thrives, in such movements as the Oxford movement and everything mystical and reactionary, on the vegetative energy in people which wants to express itself and cannot express itself; because it cannot, it becomes diverted into unnatural and *life-inimical* channels and thus can be utilized for *life-negating* purposes. The opposite is the principle of an economic order based on a full affirmation of life for the masses of people. Such a program includes the immediate natural contact between people, the prevention of life-negating processes, the fostering of the natural development of vegetative energy. The social process is only a continuation of the general process of nature.

The masses of people are not simply "passive," not simply "stupid and dependent." Rather, they are torn between fear of life, superficiality, lack of critique, and seeming stupidity on the one hand, and genuine, deep understanding of vital needs on the other hand. Every human of today carries in himself this dual nature, and the social development of the future has no more important task than that of making people conscious of the positive

aspects of this conflict and of developing them.

In this connection I would like to say a few concluding words about the task of the scientists. We owe to Marx a very simple explanation of the concept "radical." To be radical means nothing but "going to the root" of things. That is the task of the scientist. Every science, if it takes itself seriously and fulfills its task, is of necessity radical. Strictly speaking, there cannot be such a thing as a reactionary science. All the things that call themselves science and are at the same time in the service of reactionary ideologies, can easily be shown to be not science, but mysticism and superstition. Science and the scientist should not be expected at all to adhere to this or that political credo; but they should profess to being radical, that is, they should go to the root of things. Real scientific work today is being hampered to an incredible degree. Our times are characterized by mysticism and blind obedience to authority in the masses of people. Science is in great danger; hundreds of scientists have had to leave Germany just because they were scientists. Hardly any of them had any political affiliation; they were just scientists. When scientists have to flee and the general irrational thinking and acting is not counteracted by knowledge and rational action, still others will have to flee. To be cautious does no good. Those who did not dare to draw the conclusions from their findings had to flee also. If that is so, it is better to be consistent. The scientist has only one correct social task: *to continue his search for the truth in spite of everything*, not to give heed to any restrictions that the bearers of life-negating ideologies may try to impose on him.

The war which is at our door will bring about changes of a magnitude as yet inconceivable. For the time being the scientist can do no better than prepare for the time when the great change shall come. So many are busy trying to find ever better and more effective death-rays; let us hope that coming events will move the scientists to search, at last, for the *life-rays*.<sup>1</sup>

We have to be prepared and ready for a time when a rational order, when all those who will work and will themselves determine their existence, shall need us.

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<sup>1</sup> *Translator's note:* When I read this, in 1936, I understood what the author meant. It was the vision of a scientist who, in years of honest scientific effort, had come to know not only the irrationalism in scientific work, but had learned to understand its motivations. It was the vision of a therapist who had seen patients, made sick by the irrationalism in society, turn into rational beings capable of natural self-regulation, and who could envisage the same process in the future of society. I could see what he meant but felt that he was looking into a future which was infinitely far away.

When I read this passage again recently, not having seen the article for several years, I was stunned. The scientists are still looking for more powerful death-rays. Only recently, a newspaper carried a large headline: "GIANT X-RAY TREATS CANCER. 2-to-3-Million-Volt Tube is the Most Powerful in World." But in the meantime, in 1939, Reich *had* discovered the orgone radiation, that is, the *life-rays*. He made this discovery neither in the search for a new radiation, nor in the quest for a new therapy of cancer, but simply in the course of his consistent study of living functioning. Most probably, it could have been made only outside of the framework of official science. Making the discovery, the discoverer was not a tool of present-day society, but of the living function itself which this society continues to negate. It is only to be hoped that the witnessing of the present triumph of the life-negating forces will make people realize their vital needs and will make them take up the fight for their natural needs and rights, and that science will take its part in this fight.—T. P. W.

# MECHANISTIC MEDICINE AND THE BIOPATHIES

By WILLIAM F. THORBURN, D.O.

The concept of biopathy is new in medicine. It is Reich's term for all pathological conditions which are due to a disturbance in the functioning of the autonomic nervous system.<sup>1</sup> This disturbance is always an interference in the contraction-expansion impulses of the organism, caused by character rigidities and muscular tightnesses formed in early life.

A biopathic disturbance is never confined to just one part of the body's functioning but may make itself felt in one way so strongly that our attention is focused on that condition and a specific diagnosis made. For example, a person with severe gastric ulcer might have a mild anxiety tightness in the cardiac area, and neurotic character traits not deep-seated enough to stand out as the main biopathy. Another person with predominant mental symptoms of schizophrenia would have somatic disturbances also but less noticeable. The selection of the field of the strongest biopathy is not yet clear, but we know from Reich's discoveries that it may be any place in the psychosomatic sphere under the control of the autonomic nervous system.

Of course, there are many pathological conditions to which the body is subjected which have causes other than autonomic dysfunctioning. Infections, specific and non-specific, injuries to body structures as a result of trauma, etc., do interfere with natural pulsation, but only secondarily.

It would be interesting, if it were possible, to have figures on the prevalence and severity of the different biopathic symptoms. How startled the world would be to know the actual number of frigid

women, impotent men, the prevalence of chronic nervousness, mild and severe, the intestinal conditions from a slight constipation to a severe colitis, the small number of people who can sleep "like a baby," etc., etc. All of these, and many more, are biopathies and, unless they are studied from the sex-economic viewpoint, are not and cannot be understood. This accounts for the confused and ever changing treatments given them by orthodox medicine.

There are some biopathic disturbances which, due to their severity, lead from mere functional conditions to actual organic lesions. These find their way into vital statistics when death is the result. The psychoneurotic biopathies also reach the records when their increasing severity leads to a diagnosis of actual insanity. To understand what is going on in the field of human illness, biopathic and non-biopathic, one may use the records of the New York State Department of Health for the last twenty years, as an example.

*Deaths, chief causes, New York State, per 100,000 population*

Year	Pulm. Tuber.		Pneumonia		Diphtheria	
	D.	%	D.	%	D.	%
1921	9,503	88.6	10,645	99.3	1,702	15.9
1925	9,162	78.9	13,571	116.8	1,001	8.6
1930	8,146	64.6	12,908	102.4	656	5.3
1935	6,847	52.4	11,018	84.4	102	0.8
1940	5,793	42.9	6,143	45.5	15	.01

First we examine the figures showing the progress in the fields of *Pulmonary Tuberculosis, Pneumonia, and Diphtheria*, the three most common non-biopathic causes of death. One must regard with admiration the splendid results of modern therapy in lowering the incidence of death

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wilhelm Reich, *The carcinomatous shrinking biopathy. This Journal*, July 1942.

from these infections. The steady decline in the number of deaths, and of the death rate, makes comment unnecessary. Here is progress, definite and sure. Now, let us look at the corresponding figures for Cardiovascular Disease and Cancer.

	Cardiovascular		Cancer	
1921	36,594	341.4	11,163	104.1
1925	43,370	373.3	13,201	113.6
1930	48,487	384.5	15,144	121.8
1935	55,109	422.1	18,600	142.5
1940	64,987	481.3	21,384	158.4

Here, the figures are not so pleasant to examine. The two great killers in the field of biopathies, *Cancer* and *Cardiovascular diseases*, are steadily increasing, each year more alarmingly, in spite of the millions of dollars spent annually for all types of research directed at their cause and treatment. Nothing could demonstrate more clearly the fact that orthodox medicine is entirely out of touch with these conditions. The relation of sex-economic disturbances to cardiovascular diseases has been described many times by Reich and his co-workers. In going through character-analytic vegetotherapy, one of the outstanding experiences is the change from a condition of an anxiety-laden, tightened cardiac area to one which feels only vegetative freeness and relaxed functioning in the whole cardiovascular system. As to cancer, Reich's research and clinical experience leaves no room for doubt as to the biopathic nature of the scourge.

It might be interesting, at this point, to cite the figures on convictions for crimes, misdemeanors, etc., during the period of 1920-1940.

1920	40,691
1925	77,202
1930	175,530
1935	363,743
1940	1,155,986

*Crime* may be said to spring from one or both of two causes, i.e., disturbances in the individual character structure, and dis-

turbances in the social structure. These nourish each other, and no lasting progress in crime reduction is possible without attacking both.

Also on the increase is that other indication of a sorely disturbed society—*suicide*.

	Suicides	
1920	1,442	13.5
1925	1,664	14.3
1930	2,135	17.2
1935	2,180	16.7
1941	2,188	16.2

Whether stimulated by a social condition or not, suicide may be considered a type of biopathy, since only one with disturbed vegetative processes would be moved to actually take the step.

Insane in New York State			
			% per
Year	Males	Females	Total 100,000 Pop.
1920	19,515	21,265	40,780 390.0
1925	22,667	23,858	46,525 413.6
1930	28,674	27,737	56,411 444.0
1935	36,124	33,943	70,067 493.0
1941	45,870	43,393	89,263 664.2

It is difficult to study these figures dispassionately. In a generation, the number of insane has more than doubled. What is going to prevent its redoubling in another twenty years?

Here we have the most severe biopathy in the psychic field comparable to the strongest biopathy in the soma, i.e., cancer, and in both cases the figures show a tremendous increase.

Surely, a society which takes its natural, bubbling-with-life children, and causes so many to develop such severe disturbances, is sick. Since, without characterological and muscular tightnesses these conditions could not exist, the only hope for their prevention lies in the mass recognition of the child's right to an upbringing which would insure his ability to develop and function, making living a vital, pleasurable experience. This is the aim of sex-economy.

## A SEX-ECONOMIC NOTE ON ACADEMIC SEXOLOGY

By THEODORE P. WOLFE, M.D.

The following remarks refer to a round-table discussion at an annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association.<sup>1</sup> The moderator, S. Bernard Wortis, pointed out that he had arranged to have representatives of many fields of thought present, endocrinologist, gynecologist, urologist, anthropologist, marriage counsellor and psychiatrist.

The *endocrinologist*, A. T. Kenyon, agreed that endocrinological defects are "not the sole" cause of deficiency in sexual desire and potency in the male. This statement, however, was based not on the realization of the actual causes of impotence, but on the observation that eunuchoids often have "an active and apparently satisfactory sex life." He pointed out that "the question of real importance here is whether endocrine defect has anything at all to do with that vast group of men who appear perfectly normal and yet fail in sexual performance." He believes this point "insufficiently explored," and suggests assays of urine for androgenic materials as the next step in research. He found that in the eunuchoid, testosterone propionate has often a powerful effect in increasing sexual desire and frequency of erections. The degree of the latter responses seems to be greatly qualified by individual differences in threshold which "we may assume are partly determined by the individual nervous system." He would expect that "granted a suitably sensitive nervous system" even endocrinologically sound men may respond to added androgens by increased sexual desire and potency and that

certain psychological handicaps to healthy sexual function may be overborne.

To this, the sex-economist would say the following: In sex-economy, the question as to "whether endocrine defect has anything at all to do with that vast group of men who appear perfectly normal and yet fail in sexual performance" has a different significance. For one thing, an individual who "fails in sexual performance" does not appear perfectly normal to us. Perhaps the speaker means "endocrinologically normal." Whether or not further research (like assays of urine for androgenic materials) will reveal aberrations seems quite immaterial. For, in a sexually disturbed individual, the whole sex-economy, i.e., household of biological energy, is disturbed. Hormones are nothing but part of this total energy; it is thus more than likely that the hormone energy is also disturbed. But such a finding has no more than academic interest. It is not causal, but only one of the many expressions of a disturbed vegetative equilibrium. For this reason, the hope that administration of hormones will cure the sexual disturbance is a false hope. It may, of course, as the speaker says, have a "powerful effect in increasing sexual desire and frequency of erections." But that does not solve the problem; on the contrary, it is likely to create a new one. The important factor in the maintenance of the vegetative equilibrium is not sexual desire and frequency of erections, but orgasmic potency, i.e., the ability to reach full genital satisfaction. The orgasmically impotent individual, being given hormones which increase his sexual desire and the frequency of erections, is confronted with the task of dis-

<sup>1</sup> Unsuccessful Sex Adjustment in Marriage. Moderator Dr. S. Bernard Wortis. *Am. J. Psychiat.* 96, 1940, 1413-1427.

charging not only his own dammed-up sexual energy, but, in addition, that introduced from the outside. Thus, the administration of hormones will certainly not "overcome psychological handicaps to healthy sexual function"; but it may well increase them.

Earl T. Engle, *endocrinologist* and research worker in sterility and fertility, emphasized the need of further research in this field "as we are totally and absolutely ignorant of the role of estrogens and androgens and their effects on the personality structure. All we know is that hormones are essential to reproduction."

Robert L. Dickinson, famous *gynecologist* and author of the *Atlas of Human Sex Anatomy*, emphasized the necessity of careful physical study in any research program of sex. "It goes without saying," he concluded, "that physical findings are so easily brought out that undue stress is likely to be laid on mere structure. The complicated and difficult analysis of psychological factors is of major import in almost any problem. But avoidance of complete study is not excusable."

This statement is an excellent illustration of the hopeless dilemma of the usual psychosomatic research. On the one hand, there is "anatomical structure," on the other hand, there are "psychological factors." I have attended meetings where this dissociation gave rise to a battle royal between the "somaticists" and the "psychologists." In vegetotherapy, we experience every day how "psychological factors" are anchored in physiological, or, if you will, anatomical attitudes. For example, the pelvis of a woman will be tilted backward to such a degree that it makes coitus difficult or unpleasant. This is generally considered an anatomical fact, a "normal lordosis." In the course of vegetotherapy, the woman will become aware of the fact that she is chronically holding her pelvis in a retracted position. She does this for fear of the genital sensations which would occur

if she would let her pelvis move freely. In other words, she does it because of genital anxiety, a "psychological factor." To the sex-economist, the "anatomical" fact of the lordosis and the "psychological" fact of the genital anxiety, are one and the same thing. As the woman overcomes her genital anxiety, the pelvis becomes mobile and the pathological lordosis disappears. Then, as I saw it happen recently, a roentgenologist may find that "the normal lordosis is absent." In this process, she will experience—if she did not do so before—the well-known "lower back pains," an indication of the antagonistic struggle between the muscles which try to overcome the fixation and those which try to maintain it. Dickinson's emphasis on the necessity for careful physical study is, of course, in itself entirely correct. But two facts should be kept in mind:

- 1) Anatomical variations are often considered the pathogenic factor when in reality they have nothing to do with the patient's complaint. For example, a retroflected uterus will be considered the cause of dysmenorrhea; the elimination of spasms in the pelvic floor and the uterus will eliminate the dysmenorrhea, while the retroflexion persists as a harmless anatomical variation.

- 2) The artificial, scientifically and clinically untenable distinction between "functional" and "organic," "psychic" and "somatic" will always lead to errors in diagnosis and treatment.

Dr. R. Hotchkiss, *urologist*, pointed out that "the otherwise well adjusted male who develops impotence is most apt to consult first his family physician or a urologist." This points again to the importance of sex-economic training in medical school. As is evident from the urological literature, the urologist is particularly inclined to consider anomalies of the genital apparatus the causal factor of the genital disturbance when, in fact, these disturbances are either immaterial, or—more frequently

—the *result* of a disturbed genital function (in particular, of muscular spasms, disturbance in blood flow, and, as we have learned only recently, basically a disturbance of organotic charge, i.e., charge with biological energy).

In conclusion, Hotchkiss said: "As a urologist I ask whether a psychiatrist may do harm by unfolding or disclosing a complex mental disturbance to an otherwise well adjusted man complaining only of impotence; and finally, do too many consultants destroy the confidential relationship between patient and physician?"

To that the sex-economist would answer: Undoubtedly the psychiatrist can, and often does do harm in this manner, *unless* his therapy results in an actual improvement of the genital function and thus in an improvement in the patient's energy equilibrium. "Otherwise well adjusted" is a dangerous term to use. A man can be impotent and perfectly well "adjusted," but he cannot be healthy. He may complain "only of impotence"; but impotence is not one symptom among many others, it is—in the sense of orgasmic impotence—the key to the neurosis.

Dr. Ernest W. Burgess, *sociologist*, referred to Terman's study of "Psychological Factors in Marital Adjustment." The most important factors were 1) conflicts in childhood; 2) over-attachment to a parent; 3) discipline in childhood; 4) cultural differences between the married partners. "These factors all loom larger than the actual sexual adjustment itself."

These statements illustrate, among other things, several errors in concept and methodology: 1) Such factors as enumerated are considered as one set of factors, and the "sexual adjustment" as another, independent factor, while in fact they cause each other; 2) The fact is overlooked that the childhood factors become unimportant if for one reason or another the individual succeeds in establishing a satisfactory sexual relationship; only dammed-up

sexual energy re-activates an infantile situation such as an "over-attachment to a parent."

In addition, these statements show something else: All such studies, whatever their differences in detail may be, converge in one and the same finding: *other factors are more important than sexuality*. The function of all these statistical and sociological studies is this: to prove that the cause of this or that is not a sexual disturbance, but something else. By peculiar statistical and logical manipulation, the simple fact is obliterated that all these "other factors" are a result of the genital disturbance, of the inability of the average human to regulate his energies in a biological manner.

Burgess mentions one finding of Terman's which confirms this view: "The part played by economics is a relative one—not the amount of money, but the attitude toward money which the couple has is most important." This *relativity* of "other factors" is the decisive point; it applies not only to money. We know that the attitude toward money, toward religion, work, society, etc., is relative to an individual's biosexual functioning.

Of Burgess' own findings, two are particularly revealing: 1. "The more closely young people were attached to their parents, the more likely they were to have success in marriage later in life"; and 2. "Those couples who were married in church or in synagogue had a greater success than those who were married without religious ritual." Here is an illustration of what I just called "logical manipulation." Both findings are undoubtedly correct. But they do not refer to *happiness* in marriage, sexual or otherwise, but to "*success*" in marriage. On this little substitution hinges the whole problem. Undoubtedly, individuals who have an infantile attachment—to the family or the church—will make a greater "success" of marriage. That is, they will carry their

infantile attachment into the marriage; the relationship will have the character of a sticky transference; they will take "marital duty" for granted; that is, the husband will insist on his "right" and the wife will not refuse it, whether she loves the husband and is sexually aroused and satisfied or not; they will cover up the inevitably resulting hostilities with a false, sugary affection; they will adjust their lives to the whim of the mother-in-law instead of the requirements of their own individualities; they will seek their satisfaction in the church or synagogue instead of in real life. Finally, even if the situation has become intolerable, rather than terminate it by a divorce, they will "make the best of it" because the relatives would object to a divorce, because it is against certain dogmata, because it involves "scandal," etc. And this is what the academic sociologist and psychologist call "success."

A discussion of the contributions of Jacob Conn, *psychiatrist*, and Sandor Lorand, *psychoanalyst*, would take up too much space. The last group to be heard from was that of the *marriage counsellors*.

Dr. Alexandra Adler started out with a highly pertinent statement: "To begin with, it is rather difficult to make a definite statement whether two people are well or poorly adjusted sexually." She told the story of an impotent young transvestite married perfectly happily to a woman fifteen years his senior. They slept in the same bed, kissed each other, but never came to sexual intercourse. "They were," Dr. Adler comments, "adjusted to each other though not to the community."

This passage made the writer pause for quite a while. My first reaction was: this is an unfair, extreme example; after all, what role do the relatively few outspoken perverts play compared to the millions and millions who are otherwise sexually disturbed? On second thought, I realized that the example is not at all as extreme as it seems. It happens that the

husband is a transvestite, but the basic situation is that of an impotent man and a frigid woman "adjusting to each other." A very common situation which comes about not only by mutual adjustment, but by the fact that impotent men and frigid women automatically drift together. Incapable of a normal sexual relationship, they establish a parent-child relationship of one kind or another; *they are "adjusted," but they are sick.*

In other words, the very term "adjustment" is an evasion of the real issue. As the majority of our social, legal, and ethical institutions are antisexual, "adjustment" to these institutions means inevitably biosexual sickness. The question, therefore, should not be: "Are people sexually *adjusted*?" but "Are they sexually *healthy*?"

Adler then pointed out a procedure she frequently encounters in her practice, that of advising marriage (i.e., sexual intercourse) or masturbation in psychoses and neuroses. She related the case of a frigid woman suffering from a compulsion neurosis, whose psychotherapist "threatened that he would not see her any more unless she masturbated. Faithfully she did, but her neurosis did not improve upon this advice and her relations with her husband became unbearable. The same advice is still being given to sexual perverts. I have seen at the best no effects and frequently a change to the worse."

The fact that this advice is still so frequently given has two obvious reasons. One is the knowledge of the fact that people are sick because they lack genital gratification; the other is ignorance of *orgastic impotence*. It is the eternal confusion of "sexual activity" and "sexual gratification." It is the helplessness of the average therapist confronted with orgastic impotence; thus, his therapeutic impotence may even make him threaten a patient into masturbation. That masturbatory activity in a genitally inhibited individual

not only does not help, but makes matters worse by increasing the guilt feelings and resulting in genital stimulation in a patient who is incapable of discharging the genital energy, should be obvious. To advise, or even to urge or threaten such patients into masturbation is not only stupid, but criminal.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Beatrice Berle expressed the hope that today—after a phase of innocence, where learning the facts of life seemed sufficient, and after a phase of Freud, “where all our ills were due to a father fixation, and quarreling at breakfast was a symptom of lack of orgasm”—we are approaching closer to the age of reason, realizing “the fact that sex problems cannot be considered apart from problems of the total personality.” Her reference to “the truth of many of Terman’s statements” makes clear the implication of this statement, namely, that besides, or rather, *instead of*, sex, other factors should be considered.

We sex-economists entertain the hope that the age of “reason,” which is the age of rationalization and facetious sophistication, the age of academic discussions and evasions, will give place to the age of *knowledge*, a simple, honest knowledge which is the same for the professor and the “man in the street,” because it is the knowledge of simple biological facts which apply to everyone.

Dr. Grace Barker pointed out that it would “appear that a marriage counselor should be able to correlate, integrate and utilize the contributions from the fields of endocrinology, anthropology, the social sciences, psychology, psychiatry, psychoanalysis, religion, philosophy, urology and gynecology. Since it is obvious that no one human being can be a specialist in all these fields, it would seem that the marriage counselor’s special contribution

might be one of integration.”<sup>1</sup> She concluded by saying that she would like to call attention to the importance of the counsellor’s own *emotional adjustment*.

Sex-economic experience in sex counselling—based on an enormous material—leaves no doubt that the most important qualification of the counsellor is his own *sexual health*. “Emotional adjustment” may mean anything; if it is adjustment to authoritarian mores, it precludes sexual health and, with that, sex counselling which is capable of leading toward health.

Dr. Theodore Watters, Associate Professor of *Psychiatry*, concluded his discussion by saying: “As a last word to the psychiatrist, however, let me emphasize that sex in our civilization, in our scientific textbooks, as well as in our advertising has been oversold.” The implication of this statement would seem to be that we should talk less about sex, and more about other things that Watters mentioned, such as “old-fashioned selfishness,” ignorance of finances, “religious differences,” “the whole attitude toward life and the standard of values,” “minor matters such as halitosis.”

The question is not, however, one of sex or any of these other things, but, how does the disturbance of the sexual function influence all these other things? Could it be that a person who cannot give himself, in love and work, shows traits of “old-fashioned selfishness”? Could it be that orgasmic impotence and sexual guilt feelings lead to religious ideologies, and with that, to “religious differences”? Could it be that “the whole attitude toward life and the standard of values” is determined by whether an individual is capable of sex-economic self-regulation or whether he has to develop a compulsive moral character in order to inhibit the secondary antisocial impulses which owe their existence to the suppression of his natural

<sup>1</sup> Cf., e.g., the case cited by Martin, *supra*, p. 236.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide infra*, and “A note on Integration in Science.” *This Journal*, July 1942, p. 171.

sexuality? And are things like halitosis really "minor matters"? On the other hand, will a biosexually normally functioning organism develop such things as halitosis?

A recent experience from my practice may serve as an interesting illustration here. It shows the role of biosexual functioning in the matter of body odor and the soil on which a considerable part of our cosmetic industry thrives. In the case of a woman patient who was severely inhibited sexually, I was struck by a peculiar body odor which I could describe only as "dead" or "musty." The patient became quite angry when I mentioned this, because she was extremely "dainty" in the care of her body as well as her clothes. Much later, after having established her sexual functioning to some extent, she related one day that a friend had told her: "You know, you always used to have such a peculiar odor about you, sort of 'musty'; I never dared to mention it for fear of offending you. But now you don't have it any more."

Why, finally, as Watters says, is sex "oversold"? It is, in our civilization, because our civilization is essentially sex-negative. For this reason, the sexual function, instead of being a natural function, becomes an ever-present problem. As to our scientific textbooks, they can hardly be accused of an *over*-emphasis of sexuality; it is, rather, a matter of a *wrong* emphasis. That is, the textbooks, to the extent to which they treat sexuality at all, deal only with sexual aberrations, but give no idea of normal sexual functioning.

And as to advertising, it is true that there is hardly any commodity that the advertising industry does not try to sell on the basis of "sex-appeal." Why? Because the advertising business knows as well as anybody else that the one need that is more burning than any other and is less gratified than any other, is the sexual need. By clever advertising, they make people feel—not consciously, necessarily—that this

or that article (for which they may not have the slightest use or need) will give them some sort of sexual satisfaction. In the more outspoken examples, the formula is, without any disguise, "Use this or that soap, pill, hairwash, perfume, etc., and you'll get your man (or girl)." For this, the advertising business cannot be blamed; this kind of procedure is one of the many logical and inevitable results of the general social suppression of natural love life.

*Closing remarks by Dr. Wortis:* "This meeting has emphasized the necessity for a pluralistic viewpoint in studying sexual behavior and sexual problems. The sexologist must be qualified and willing to integrate advances in endocrinologic, gynecologic, urologic, physiologic, sociologic, anthropologic and psychologic knowledge. Disturbance in sexual function may arise from one or several causes. As regards the role of the marriage counsellor, he or she must be a good listener and himself or herself have no problems or pet ideas to work off on the patient seeking advice. . . .

"The physician dealing with these problems . . . must mix with his scientific knowledge the essential quality of human sympathetic understanding. In this field, especially, the patient's confidence in his physician is the most important therapeutic instrument."

The writer would say that this meeting showed, first, that the *pluralistic* viewpoint is the prevalent one, and second, it demonstrated the fallacy and untenability of this viewpoint. It is based on the concept that an understanding of sexual problems can be achieved by an integration of endocrinological, gynecological, urological, physiological, sociological, anthropological and psychological knowledge. If one really tries to do this, one soon finds that the findings of these various branches of investigation are usually contradictory and incapable of being coordinated. Theoretically, there would seem to exist a con-

sensus of opinion that the whole cannot be understood from a study of its parts. In practice, however, this is not only what is constantly being tried, but even justified by the "necessity for a pluralistic viewpoint."

The contradictoriness and incompatibility of the findings within the various specialties derive from the fact that these findings, by themselves, and their relationship to the sexual process, cannot be understood without an understanding of *the sexual process itself* and the part these findings play in it. The sexual process itself is a biological process, and only a study of this biological process and its disturbance can lead to an understanding of its manifestations—normal and pathological—in the various fields of investigation. It is incredible but true that the natural sexual process is unknown in medical and sexological literature, that it never was studied before Reich's "Die Funktion des Orgasmus" (1927), and that there is still not a single branch of science which would concern itself with it except sex-economy.

The counsellor, Dr. Wortis continues, should be "ever mindful that there are no dogmatic laws of sexual behavior. People's methods for obtaining sexual satisfaction vary. Any happily, mutually acceptable, satisfaction-giving method is a good one."

We would say that the counsellor should be fully conscious of the fact that there *are* dogmatic laws of sexual behavior, such as taboo of masturbation, pre-marital abstinence, "marital duty," that, in fact, the sexual behavior of the majority of people takes place according to these laws. The counsellor should know, in addition, that there are other laws of sexual behavior, namely, *biological* laws; that everything in the dogmatic laws is at variance with the biological laws of the sexual process, and that this conflict is the basis of the neuroses and general human unhappiness. It is true that "people's methods for obtaining sexual satisfaction vary."

But one should realize that these variations are pathological and a result of such "dogmatic laws" as the ones mentioned above, and that real satisfaction can be obtained only if there is no interference with the biological process of orgasmic satisfaction. From the sex-economic point of view, one cannot agree with the statement that any mutually acceptable satisfaction-giving method is a good one. It may be "good" from a subjective point of view, that is, the individual may *not be aware* of any sexual dissatisfaction. A marriage, for example, in which the husband maintains an infantile-dependent attitude toward his wife, who, on the other hand, is a domineering mother type, may be "mutually satisfactory." But the satisfaction is based on the fulfilment of infantile, neurotic needs, and this very fact—the neurotic basis—makes real genital gratification impossible. The individual may not be aware of the connection between his lack of orgasmic satisfaction and his palpitations, "indigestion," "rheumatism" or back pain. Objectively, i.e., from the biological point of view of the regulation of vegetative energy, such a relationship is not a "good" one, because it results in a damming-up of biological energy in the organism with all its pathological results, psychic and somatic.

And finally, as to the patient's confidence in his physician being the most important therapeutic instrument especially in this field, therapeutic experience with patients who have gone from physician to physician shows clearly one thing: that patients, quite generally, have very little confidence in their physicians, and that this lack of confidence has one basic reason: patients feel that the average physician does not understand either their normal sexual needs or the disturbances of their sexual functioning. This will inevitably be so until sex-economic knowledge becomes an integral part of the medical curriculum.

## II. THE FASCIST NEWSPAPER CAMPAIGN IN NORWAY\*

By GUNNAR LEISTIKOW

The history of sex-economy illustrates again and again the operating of irrational argumentation. Hardly any other scientific discoveries have so thoroughly shaken well-established scientific beliefs or aroused such violent anxieties. Thus it is small wonder that Reich had to experience many times over what other scientific pioneers such as Pasteur, Einstein or Freud had to suffer before him. In the following pages I shall try to give an account of one particularly violent phase of the irrational fight against sex-economy, the Fascist newspaper campaign in Norway in 1938, and some of the events that preceded it. Hardly ever did the fight against his findings take the form of scientific discussion. The main weapons in this fight were lies, distortions, and defamation. It would be impossible to understand the extent to which such weapons were put to use were it not for the fact that the findings themselves aroused violent anxieties and thus provoked all kinds of irrational reactions.

One of the main points of divergency from psychoanalysis was the sex-economic differentiation of genital and pregenital pleasure and the recognition of the importance of orgasmic potency. Another was the emphasis on the prevention of the neuroses instead of on their individual therapy, and therefore on sexual education and sexual hygiene. It was for this reason that Reich founded and directed sex-hygiene clinics in which thousands and

thousands of adolescents and adults sought advice about their sexual disturbances. In order to make this work possible on a mass scale it was carried out within the framework of the socialist party of Austria. However, the dominating clique of that party soon began to oppose Reich's views as being too radical. In particular, his booklet, "Zur Kritik der Sexualreform," published in 1930, criticizing the usual shallow and ineffective sexual reform movement, to which the Socialist Party also adhered, provoked the wrath of the party bureaucrats. One of them, Karl Kautsky, son of the well-known socialist theorist, wrote a review of Reich's booklet, which in many respects foreshadowed the later slandering campaigns against Reich ("Gleichheit" No. 7, 1931). Without even entering into a discussion of the factual problems he made a preposterous accusation on purely political grounds, accusing Reich of "having used the sex-hygiene clinics as a shop for communist propaganda after a short guest-role in the Socialist Party." The truth of the matter was that a few Communist physicians who had greater insight into the necessity of prophylactic measures than the Socialist party leaders had collaborated with Reich and the other Socialist physicians. This seems indeed a flimsy excuse for such an accusation as that made by Kautsky.

There could be no doubt, however, that on the whole the Communists had a better comprehension of the relevant problems than the Socialists. Thus, a few years later the German Society for Sex Education, founded by Reich, became the largest

\* Second in a series of articles on Irrationalism in the Fight against Sex-economy. Cf. I. Biophysical functionalism and mechanistic natural science, by Wilhelm Reich. *This Journal*, July 1942.

mass organization affiliated with the German Communist Party. But this only aroused the opposition of the Communists, again on political grounds. They had to admit that Reich, with his social and medical handling of sexual problems, reached far greater numbers of people and much more effectively than did the party with its boring economic twaddle. But just this success made them jealous and uncomfortable. History repeated itself. Just as a few years before the Austrian Socialists had done, so the dominant group of the German Communists now started a campaign against Reich which finally led to his expulsion from the party. While the Austrian Socialists had accused him of "opening a Communist propaganda-shop," the Communists now branded him a "counter-revolutionary." First they turned against him for being a psychoanalyst. Psychoanalysis, they said, was a "phenomenon of bourgeois decay," "untenable scientifically," or at least "un-Marxistic," since no allusion to it could be found in the writings of Marx and Engels, both of whom had died long before Freud published his discoveries. They censured Reich for trying to revise Engels, saying that, "while Lenin called 'the Origin of the Family' one of the best Marxist treatises, Reich, like all counter-revolutionists and revisionists, attempted to improve upon and to forge Marxism." Reich's finding that sexual frustration affected all classes, they said, was preposterous. Disturbances of the orgasm, they maintained, were a "bourgeois affair," and if Reich thought otherwise he simply "denied the existence of class differences." His books, they said, "only caused confusion" and they thought it was "high time to put an end to this damned sex-philosophy."

Reich's fight for the sexual health of German youth caused the Red liberators to accuse him of "turning our gyms into brothels" and to call his educational

pamphlets "spitting at the proletarian girls." His theories and findings were condemned as "un-Marxistic rubbish" and "bourgeois ideology" and as "an attempt to obliterate the party line by sexual questions." In addition, the Communists considered sex education unnecessary because, as they said, "the sexual problem solved itself."

The Communists, however, were not the only ones to attack Reich at that time. The Nazis were no less shocked. But while the Communists called his activities counter-revolutionary, the Nazis, on their part, considered them a "Communist plot." At the very time when the Communist agitation against Reich was at its height the Nazis' "Völkischer Beobachter" wrote the following about Reich's book, "The Sexual Struggle of Youth": "It is the Communists' call to German youth to revolt against all moral regulations which they consider mere shackles of Capitalism."

When Hitler came to power Reich had to flee Germany. He went to Denmark and there wrote and published his book, "Die Massenpsychologie des Faschismus." In this he gave the world what had hitherto been so fatefully lacking: an understanding of the mass-psychological factors which underlie Fascism and made Hitler's success possible. One would have thought that the Communists, after their defeat in Germany, would have been the first to appreciate the scientific study of their own defeat and their enemies' success. But nothing of the kind. The party line, proclaimed from Moscow, denied that there had been any defeat at all and stated that Hitler's regime would soon collapse and be replaced by a Communist regime in Germany.

Under these circumstances a book which not only pointed out the defeat but also inquired into its causes was considered a nuisance. This all the more, since a great many party members failed to see the logic

of the party line and eagerly sought for a true explanation of the defeat. The fact that Reich had dared to question the wisdom of the party line was considered sufficient not only to ban the book as dangerous but also to expel its author from the party.<sup>1</sup>

When Reich came to Denmark, this country seemed to offer particularly good chances for teaching psychoanalysis. True, as a foreigner, he was not allowed to practise. But a number of people were eager to study the practice and theory of character-analysis with him. Peculiarly enough, this small, highly cultivated country had, up to that time, ignored psychoanalysis almost completely. At a time when psychoanalysis had already

been taught for many years at special institutes both in Europe and in America, it was not even mentioned in Danish universities.

Under these circumstances one would have expected Danish scientists and authorities to welcome an outstanding representative of psychoanalysis who would make it possible for Danish students to study this field at home instead of having to travel abroad in order to do so.

Far from it. Irrational reactions prevailed and what had happened to Freud thirty years earlier now happened to Reich. Official medicine could not tolerate a man who questioned the very basis of traditional psychiatric thinking. When the police authorities asked the Department of Health whether Reich's admission to the country as a teacher was considered of value for Danish science, Clemmenson and Schroeder, two psychiatrists of the old hereditarian school, answered the question in the negative. They justified this judgment with the remarkable statement that psychoanalysis was not needed in Denmark, because, as one of them put it, "our old methods of mental treatment are good enough."

Such a standpoint was not easy to maintain with regard to an internationally established branch of science, particularly in a country which tried to uphold a reputation for scientific pioneer work, and especially with such a weak argument as, "our old methods are good enough." Then an incident occurred which, in itself innocent, gave these worthy psychiatrists the hoped-for chance for an oblique attack on Reich. A young woman suffering from hysteria had been imploring Reich for some time to take her on for analytic treatment and had threatened to commit suicide should he refuse. In order to prevent a disaster, Reich finally agreed to see her for a few sessions, without pay, only in order to make a diagnosis and to advise as to what should be done. Having

<sup>1</sup> *Editor's note:* Reich was connected with the German Communist Party through the Communist fraction of the "Sozialistischer Aerzteverband" (Socialist Medical Association) in Germany. He was engaged in mental hygiene work in large organizations which were not party organizations and counted Liberals, Socialists and Communists among their members. Later he founded the "Verband für Sexualpolitik" which also was not a party organization and which, within a few months, had tens of thousands of unpolitical members, that is, people belonging to no party, Christian Socialists and even National Socialists. This large membership developed mainly in the industrial cities of Western Germany. Reich's work was based on his sex-economic concepts and for this reason led again and again to conflicts with the functionaries of the Communist party who believed they solved sexual problems with purely economico-political slogans, without entering on the real problems of the sex life of the masses. Reich never was a political or paid functionary of the Communist party, nor was he ever politically active in the usual sense of the word. Considering the far-reaching sexual reforms which had originally taken place in Soviet Russia, the Communist party seemed the most favorable framework for making sex-economic concepts comprehensible to large masses of people. However, as it turned out later, not only did the Soviet Russian laws (after 1934) regress to authoritarian, anti-sexual, even reactionary measures; more than that, it was the Communists who turned into the most violent opponents of sex-economy. Reich's expulsion from the party was the result of the publication of his book, "Massenpsychologie des Faschismus", which for the first time disclosed the sex-economic content of the Fascist ideology.—T. P. W.

no license to practise, Reich could not take her on for treatment. To this the girl reacted with an attempt at suicide.

As it happened, the girl was sent to the very hospital where Dr. Schroeder was senior physician. Thus the head psychiatrist of the Department of Health had placed in his hands an unfortunate situation which he immediately made use of as a weapon to defend his own prejudices. He accused Reich in public of "having driven the girl to suicide by a treatment which he had practised unlawfully." In these public utterances, Dr. Schroeder carefully avoided mentioning such facts as that the girl had been suicidal long before coming to see Dr. Reich and that, in fact, she had previously made a suicidal attempt; and that her recent attempt at suicide was not the result of any treatment by Reich, but of the fact that *he had to refuse treatment*.

These sensational accusations were of course eagerly taken up by the daily press and soon a fight was on between the friends and foes of psychoanalysis. In this fight, the latter had the upper hand, largely because of the generally prevailing ignorance of psychoanalysis. In an article in the *Berlinske Tidende*, the most prominent daily paper in the country, Reich was accused of "psychoanalytic quackery." This judgment referred less to Reich than to psychoanalysis as such which the writer considered "a kind of scientific quackery." As to Reich, he suggested expelling him from the country, in order to "prevent one of these German so-called sexologists from fooling around with our young men and women and converting them to this perverse pseudo-science." It is noteworthy that this article appeared anonymously; years before its writer had been involved in a spiritualist scandal.

As a result of this campaign Reich had to leave the country because the authorities refused to extend his permit to stay. However this did not terminate his teach-

ing activities. Reich settled in Malmö, Sweden, only two hours across the sound from Copenhagen, and his Danish pupils crossed the sound several times a week in order to continue their training.

Then Reich's Danish opponents attempted another attack on his reputation by filing a charge of pornography against Edvard Heiberg who had published an article of Reich's in a magazine edited by him. This was an article which had previously been published in the "*Zeitschr. f. psychoanalyt. Pädagogik*." Heiberg was sentenced to 40 days in prison. The incident is worth mentioning because it gave rise to all kinds of irrational contentions. For example, the Copenhagen *Arbejderbladet*, a Communist paper, accused Reich, of all people, of having collaborated with the police in the case against Heiberg, the very man who was charged with pornography for having published an article of Reich's. The paper added that Reich, "in return for a job well done," had had his permission to stay in Denmark extended. As we know, and as they knew, this was a lie.

Reich did not stay long in Sweden. One of his students, Prof. Schjelderup from Oslo, arranged for his being invited to the University of Oslo to teach character-analysis. There, at the Psychological Institute, Reich was to have the opportunity of carrying out his bio-electrical experiments. He moved to Oslo in October 1934.

For about three years, he continued his research and his teaching peacefully. Occasional attacks by the Nazis or the Communists had little effect, since neither party had much influence in Norway. As long as the research results were not published, the official world of science had little to say, and in the meantime Reich's influence and reputation grew steadily as a result of his teaching. Several psychoanalysts resigned from the International Psychoanalytic Association to join Reich's organization.

Things changed after the first publication of the bion research in the "Zeitschr. f. Polit. Psychol. und Sexualökonomie" in 1937. The newspapers got wind of it and published a number of sensational articles. This was the beginning of a campaign of irrationalism which was to last for many months. Immediately, no less than three professors of medicine and physiology at the University of Oslo, Langfeldt, Mohr and Hansen, gave the press their "expert" opinion on the bion experiments, calling the whole thing utterly unbelievable and impossible. They had only read the report and were ignorant of the experiments. This did not keep them from giving detailed explanations of their own for the phenomena described. This attitude, and the use of such expressions as "rubbish" and "nonsense" in judging a scientific report, was severely criticized by part of the daily press.

This first attack was soon followed by one from another quarter, that of the psychoanalysts. In 1934, Reich had been expelled from the International Psychoanalytic Association, because of his continued insistence that psychoanalysis did have social consequences and that they could not be evaded. In order to maintain his independence, he had not availed himself of the opportunity to join the Scandinavian group of psychoanalysts. Between then and 1937, sex-economy had developed to such an extent that it no longer could be called psychoanalysis. As most psychoanalysts realized that sex-economy was the first development beyond Freud (in contradistinction to all other "unorthodox" movements within psychoanalysis, all of which had been away from or against Freud), they felt uncomfortable for a number of reasons. None of them had ever been able to disprove a single one of Reich's scientific statements. So they had to take recourse to other means.

An attack of the vilest sort was launched on October 27, 1937, by the Norwegian

psychoanalyst Ingjald Nissen, who declared in a newspaper interview: "Psychoanalysis in this country has become sort of a weedy garden, where all sorts of parasites and climbers strike root and almost choke what is of value." He complained about the "quackery" of "psychoanalytic sectarians" who "not even call themselves psychoanalysts any longer" and practice "some sort of quasi-medicinal relaxation analysis" which "only leads to sexual excitation." Something must be done about it, Nissen felt. He suggested that the physicians (who were completely untrained in psychoanalysis) and the orthodox Freudians should get together to decide who should be allowed to practise "psychoanalysis."

Who was this Nissen, who not only started the psychoanalysts' attack on Reich, but carried it on in a series of newspaper articles? It was the same Nissen who, a few years before, had highly welcomed Reich's move to Norway and had reviewed his books with the greatest enthusiasm. As long as Reich stayed within the general framework of psychoanalysis, Nissen called him "one of the greatest psychoanalysts." Now that Reich had gone beyond the confines of psychoanalysis, and, in addition, was getting into a heated public controversy because of his findings concerning biogenesis, now, Nissen suddenly felt Reich "lacking the broad knowledge of the subject (psychoanalysis), without which, we feel, no analyst can do." A good example of irrational inconsistency.

The newspaper campaign took on new violence after the publication of the book, "*Die Bione*," the first comprehensive presentation of the findings concerning biogenesis. The leader of the campaign became the psychiatrist Johan Scharffenberg.<sup>1</sup> He never tried to disprove Reich's

<sup>1</sup> According to reports from Norway, Scharffenberg took a very courageous stand against the Nazis during the early occupation. Unfortunately, this does not absolve him from the actions we have to describe here.

findings. He simply misused the authority of his official position to make statements which were such that nobody would have taken them seriously had they not come from the great psychiatrist Scharffenberg. Thus, he declared Reich to be a "psychopath." Some months before, he had already chipped in with Nissen. In a newspaper article, headlined "Psycho-analytic Quackery," published in January 1938, he had called Reich—by implication—a quack. Now, in April 1938, he launched a series of newspaper articles under the heading, "Are the experiments of Dr. Reich scientifically valid?" In these articles, he did not advance one single objective argument; instead, he threw into doubt Reich's integrity, even his sanity, by all kinds of insinuations.

The public reaction was that, after all, Scharffenberg had a right to disagree with Reich, but, as some people pointed out in letters to the Editor, the fair thing to do would have been to carry on a discussion in some scientific publication, instead of using the whole authority of a famous psychiatrist with a lay public which was in no position to judge the issue.

Scharffenberg began his campaign of defamation—for such was what pretended to be a discussion of scientific findings—by mentioning that Reich's permit to stay in Denmark had not been extended. He failed to say why—so the reader could imply anything he wanted. In the next article he added to the information that Reich had an M.D. from the University of Vienna the little remark, "according to Mrs. So-and-So." He thus started the rumor that Reich was not a physician at all. He spread the further rumor that Reich had wished to arrange sexual intercourse between patients at the Dikemark psychiatric hospital for experimental purposes. "It has been said," wrote Dr. Scharffenberg, "that Dr. Reich uttered the wish to make his 'main experiment' during sexual intercourse between psycho-

paths." "It has been said" is sufficient for Dr. Scharffenberg to put such a rumor into print, adding, as if to disclaim responsibility for his statement, "I have not been able to obtain full clarification on this point."

Soon, two more representatives of official Norwegian science joined Scharffenberg in his campaign. They were Professor Kreyberg, Norway's foremost cancer specialist, and Professor Thjötta, a well-known biologist. They made statements in the daily press to the effect that they had "checked" Reich's bion experiments; that what Reich called bions were well-known microbes; that there were no living micro-organisms at all in his preparations; that Reich had less knowledge of bacteriology than an undergraduate of Oslo University.

The facts of the matter were the following. Reich, having discovered organisms which never had been described before, submitted samples of some early cultures to these two scientists, asking them to identify them if possible. It soon turned out that a collaboration of these scientists such as Reich had wished to establish was impossible. Thjötta had the impertinence to advise Reich to put his time to better use, while Kreyberg tried to have Reich subjected to an examination in anatomy and biology in which he, Kreyberg, would have been the examiner. As was shown, this cancer specialist was unable to recognize a living cancer cell under the microscope when it was shown to him; he had never looked at living cancer tissue before.

Now these two authorities publicly "refuted" Reich's experiments on the basis of what they called their "control experiments." All they had was certain preparations submitted to them for their opinion as to a definite question. "Control experiments" were out of the question, because they lacked the knowledge of what they were dealing with and the knowledge of the original experiments; more than that,

they did not even have microscopes powerful enough (2000-4000x) to make the phenomena in question visible. But how was the public to know that? All they knew was that Kreyberg and Thjötta were "authorities." Kreyberg kept referring to Reich as "Mr." instead of "Dr." He finally had to admit that his purpose in this had been that of making the public doubt that Reich held the degree of M.D.

This and more of its kind was, of course, grist for the mill of all kinds of Fascist writers who thus were given new ammunition against this "Jewish pornographer of the worst kind," etc. Papers such as *Morgenbladet* and *Tidens Tegn* began to ridicule Reich, now that "Professor Kreyberg has not left him a penny's worth of reputation and that Professor Thjötta showed his experiments to be mere dilettantism." Reich's repeated statement that he had never said he "created life," but that he was only demonstrating in the laboratory a process which was going on in nature all the time, was to no avail. His opponents kept referring to him as "self-styled creator"; the influential Fascist *Tidens Tegn* even carried an editorial headlined "God Reich."

A few days later, the same paper let the cat out of the bag: Reich's permit to stay in Norway had expired, and, according to authoritative sources it seemed doubtful whether it would be renewed. The whole campaign turned out to have the purpose of compromising Reich to such an extent in the public eye that, should his permit not be renewed people would think it had happened to an imposter and charlatan, and rightly so. That being public opinion, nobody would protest against an expulsion.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Editor's note:* When I was in Oslo in 1938, I had to apply for a permit to stay (the first 3 months no permit was needed). When I applied at the special police office (Alien Police), they asked me why I was in Oslo. As soon as I told them I was studying with Dr. Reich they threw up their hands: "Impossible!" Not only that,

Yet, this attempt was all too clumsy. It backfired.

Scharffenberg himself brought about this reaction with a new series of articles headlined, "Is Dr. Reich a serious scientist?" With these, he aroused the average Norwegian's sense of justice and fair play. It was at the time when the faculty of medicine of the Oslo University had to answer the state authorities' question whether Dr. Reich's presence in Norway was to be considered an asset to Norwegian science. As soon as Scharffenberg renewed his attacks, there appeared in the daily papers an open letter to the faculty, signed by a great number of well-known writers, scientists and artists, asking the faculty not to be influenced in their decision by senseless statements being made in the press. At the same time a letter from the well-known anthropologist Malinowski, then teaching in London, was published, in which he stated most emphatically that he would consider it a great loss to science if an "original and sound thinker" like Reich were not allowed to carry on his research. One of Norway's most prominent writers pointed out that all the excitement about the bion experiments was only a smoke-screen for machinations to get Reich out of the country. He also pointed out some of the

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they asserted that Reich had no right to teach. Although I repeated my application through a lawyer, the *permit* was refused to me. This for the simple reason that I was working with Reich. They knew, of course, that during the succeeding 4 months, I was staying on in Norway "illegally." But they also knew that if they had tried to expel me, there would have been such a public uproar—because of Reich's reputation—that the better part of wisdom was not to attempt it. The men in the Justice Department who had the say about Reich's permit of residence were the Minister of Justice Jonas Lie and the Alien Police Commissioner Konstad. Lie, at the time of the Nazi occupation of Norway, revealed himself as a 100% Fascist. Konstad was generally known as Fascist and Alien baiter. Lie had kept him in office in spite of the protests from the democratic public. The character of these men, then, throws some light on Reich's difficulties.

irrational features in the campaign: Reich was being attacked as a psychoanalyst though he had long since ceased to be one; as a "Red" though he had long since been branded as an enemy by the Communists; and, last but not least, he pointed out, Reich had incurred the wrath of all kinds of reactionaries and neurotics because his science dealt with the subject of sexuality.

One of Scharffenberg's colleagues revealed the fact that Scharffenberg's admitted aim in writing these articles was that of getting Reich out of the country. Public opinion turned more and more against Scharffenberg; the "Friends of the Right of Asylum," an organization of which he was one of the founders, even considered his expulsion from the organization.<sup>1</sup>

However, the whole feud was sidetracked by the authorities who had to decide about the renewal of Reich's permit of residence. They found themselves in a dilemma. On the one hand, there was the verdict of such an important body as the faculty of medicine, who, in spite of the facts and the appeals made to them, had decided that there was no need for having Reich in the country. On the other hand, there was public opinion which was such as to make it difficult for them to expel a well-known scientist. In this dilemma, someone had a bright idea. Reich was allowed to stay, but there suddenly appeared a Royal decree to the effect that anybody who practised psychoanalysis had to have a special license from the Govern-

ment. It was generally understood that such a license would be refused to Reich.

What made the position of Scharffenberg and his friends even more difficult was Reich's attitude in the whole matter. He refused to enter into any kind of irrational fighting and simply went on with his work. Only twice did he enter the discussion at all: Once, in the very beginning of the campaign, he made a public appeal to be left alone until his experiments had advanced to a point where a detailed report could be published; and later, he suggested a public investigation of his bion experiments (a challenge which his opponents wisely refused to take up). The licensing of psychoanalytic practice did not have the desired effect. The authorities had no chance to refuse Reich a license, because he never asked for one. Character-analytic vegetotherapy, at that time, had already progressed so far beyond psychoanalysis that it no longer could be considered psychoanalysis; thus, the practice of vegetotherapy had nothing to do with a license to practice psychoanalysis. In addition, because the constant publicity over almost a year and the hostile attitude of some key-men in the medical profession made the continuation of the research increasingly difficult, Reich decided to leave the country to continue his work in a more hospitable and broadminded America.

To that extent, Reich's opponents had attained their goal. But, while they had made it practically impossible for Reich to go on with his work in Norway, and while his bion experiments had been publicly called charlatanism, the work kept progressing: in the beginning of the campaign in 1937, the T-bacilli were discovered; while the campaign was raging in 1938, the first findings with regard to cancer in mice were made; in January 1939 the orgone radiation was discovered in the SAPA bions, and in 1940 in the atmosphere. Though the emotional pest was raging, the work went ahead.

<sup>1</sup> *Editor's note:* A woman teacher out in the Norwegian country who had followed the press campaign against Reich, wrote an article against Scharffenberg in which she hit the nail on the head and named Scharffenberg's real motive, which, although known to those trained in sex-economy, had never been mentioned in the press. "She had heard rumors," she wrote (thus taking off Scharffenberg's method of defamation by "hearsay"), "that Scharffenberg was an ascetic and, furthermore, at an age when even the devil himself takes to the monastery." This hit home. Shortly thereafter, admitting publicly his incompetence, Scharffenberg gave up his campaign.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

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### ON THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ADOLESCENCE

*A teacher writes:*

I have read with great interest the early issues of your journal and I have been deeply impressed with the principles of sex-economy which are stated therein and which are elaborated in Dr. Reich's book, "The Function of the Orgasm." They have illuminated for me many of the contradictions in our educational treatment of adolescents.

The difference between the sex-economic point of view and that of conventional educational practice is illustrated, I believe, by the following problems.

Education for democratic citizenship has long been regarded as a major goal of formal instruction. In at least one important respect the schools have failed to achieve this objective. Intolerance, with its corollary, race prejudice, is a dominant feature of our adult society. What is the attitude of pedagogy towards this problem? May I quote from the "Psychology of Adolescence" by Luella Cole. "Many adolescents are also intolerant—a trait which marks them off from both the child and the adult. The child has the tolerance of ignorance and insensitivity to social stimuli, while the true adult has the tolerance of knowledge and understanding."

We are well acquainted with the average child's complete freedom from intolerance. It is not uncommon to see on the streets of New York mixed groups of children, gentile and Jewish, white and colored, Occidental and Oriental playing happily together. There is no question of tolerance: the right of each child is accepted by the others as God-given and not the subject of sufferance or permission. Is this ignorance and insensitivity or is it a natural feeling for life? There are exceptions, of course; where they occur, we may

look for prejudiced statements in the home.

This lack of intolerance carries over into early adolescence. We may observe in the first grades of high school that children of different faiths and diverse races are, frequently, the closest of friends; the white girl and her colored school mate regard each other as social equals. With sexual maturity, however, the picture changes: divisions occur, segregation, unconscious at first, manifests itself. At the senior prom, the Catholic boys and girls form one clique, the Protestants another; the Jewish children are grouped apart; and the colored boys and girls are tolerated. What has happened? And why? These students have just completed four years of high school education, they have studied intensively the American democratic system, and even before they are graduated, democracy has failed. They have made their adjustment to the neurotic forces in society, and no amount of further education seems to be able to alter the situation for the prejudice exists in even more marked degree among the teachers themselves.

That the beginnings of tolerance and intolerance occur with sexual maturity are not matters of speculation; they can be observed, as I have observed them for ten years, by every teacher of adolescents. What has happened? Just this: the strong natural instinct for sexuality which the adolescent feels at this time is rebuffed by school and home authorities. The adolescent is faced with the choice: to rebel and be treated as an outcast or to adjust (oh, that word "adjust"—what crimes are not committed in its name!) to society's unnatural demands and thereby lose his natural feeling for life and people. But really, an alternative for the adolescent does not exist. It is we, his teachers and

parents, who are faced with the choice of a natural self-regulated sociability or a forced, artificial tolerance which is never more than surface deep.

But the adolescent's conflict is not resolved so simply. A frank discussion with any boy or girl in late adolescence will reveal the severity of the internal struggle. Superficially, he may accept the conventional morality of our time, but both in feeling and action, he longs for and strives for sexual happiness. If the adolescent boy or girl gives way to this instinctual urging, the result, too frequently, is a confusion paralyzing in its psychic effect—pleasure, disgust, desire, remorse and anguish. Amid this welter of internal dissension, can we expect the adolescent to exercise an impartial and independent judgment on social problems?

What, then, of those adolescents who have made a perfect adjustment; i.e., who have bought peace at the price of their mental and physical health? Are they not in a position to apply those precepts of democratic action which underlie the scientific approach to social questions? This group constitutes the great majority of our adolescents. What do we find? The Regents' inquiry into the cost and character of public education in New York State has revealed that the schools have failed to prepare students adequately for the responsibilities of citizenship in a democratic society. Since this inquiry is so highly regarded—its extensive research fully merits this esteem—may I incorporate this conclusion from its report "Education for American Life": "As to democracy and freedom, youth follows adults in being rather 'hard-boiled' and inadequately prepared to do what is required to preserve either." Should we be surprised at this attitude of youth? Have not we, the adults, insisted that he "adjust" to our way of life, our attitudes, our morality? What is such an adjustment but the sacrifice of

his independence based on an inner harmony with his sexual needs and emotional life and the acceptance of a dependence upon authority?

More instruction, more book "larnin'" is, obviously, not the answer. No! Not all the tea in China nor all the knowledge of a professor of history and political science could create a democratic citizen out of a frustrated adolescent. Knowledge is important, and sex-economy has recognized its importance, but knowledge is socially constructive only when applied by a natural, genital character. Recently, Howard M. Bell surveyed the youth problem for the American Council on Education. In his report, "Youth Tell Their Story," there is the frank recognition of this failure. Youth, itself, feels a deficiency in its educational growth and asks for more education. But not of the kind that they had had in school previously. No. Youth wants to know about life, about sex particularly, from an understanding of which it has been barred. On no other subject was there such unanimity of opinion.

What conclusions may we draw and what is the outlook? One deduction is inescapable. The development of the democratic character is not possible in a sex-negating environment. In this we see the result of Dr. Reich's formulation: sex suppression serves the function of making the adolescent, and later the adult, submissive to authority. The practical social effect is the maintenance of entrenched privilege.

In closing, I should like to quote from the introduction to "Youth Tell Their Story." "If there is anything in the nature of the present situation for sober adults to view with alarm, it is not that youth will rise in revolt against the programs and policies of antiquated institutions that are intended to serve them, but that they will, with a supine meekness, continue to ac-

cept these programs and policies exactly as they inherit them."

Of such stuff is fascism made.

#### THE OLD QUESTION OF MAGNIFICATIONS OVER 2000X

*A reader of the Journal writes:*

Dear Editor:

I am aware of a questioning doubt on my part. I have never heard of a microscope with a magnification of more than 2000x. I should like to know if you have a microscope with a magnification of 5000x. . . . There is a well-known bacteriologist here who claims that all living organisms give off a radiation. No one will believe him, but he insists upon it. As a result, can you imagine, his reputation as a bacteriologist has suffered. The academic attitude of official science! . . .

*Comment:*

Questioning doubts about microscopes with a magnification of over 2000x are not new. It seems that even the research world is still largely ignorant of the *Reichert* microscope which gives a magnification of 5625x, although it was put on the market as long ago as 1937. Since 1930, *Leitz* has been building a microscope with an objective lens system which by itself magnifies 150x; combined with an eye-piece of 25x, it produces a magnification of 3750x. The *Reichert* microscope has an inclined binocular tube which magnifies in itself 50%, i.e., it adds half of the given magnification. The given magnification being 3750x, this tube adds 1875x; the upper limit thus is 5625x.

The photograph of the T-bacilli (*This Journal*, July 1942, facing p. 129), however, was not taken at this magnification. It was taken with an objective of 150x and an eye-piece of 7x, giving 1050x. The binocular tube adding 525x, the micro-

photographic magnification is 1575x. The enlargement of the *Leica* negative to 9 x 12 cm resulted in a total magnification of 4725x. The T-bacilli have also been photographed with a 12x eye-piece, giving a microphotographic magnification of 2700x. The size of the T-bacilli is just at the margin of visibility, that is, about 0.2  $\mu$ . It can be readily seen that there is nothing mysterious about the magnification of 5000x. In view of the fact that microscopes providing this magnification have been on the market for a long time, and in view of the fact that these findings and technical details were published as long ago as 1938, the argument that "there is no such magnification" belongs in the realm of irrational argumentation. Nobody has a right to pass judgment on the bion findings until he has at least availed himself of the technical equipment indispensable for their study.

#### DISASTROUS FADS IN INFANT UPBRINGING

*A physician writes:*

Dear Editor:

For some time now, the streets in various parts of New York have presented a peculiar spectacle. Babies in their perambulators lie on their stomachs. One can see how they strain to keep their heads up; but they always drop back on the pillow. The muscles of the back are all tense. Some of the babies cry, others moan, still others struggle in vain to get out of this uncomfortable position. When I saw this for the first few times, I thought the mothers had put the babies on the stomach by accident. But when I saw more and more of this torture, it became clear that it was not an accident. It was, rather, one of these sporadic and yet endemic manias; one of these manias of improving on nature "with all the means of scientific and technical achievement."

Hardly two decades ago, physicians and mothers alike had the superstitious belief that the infant's legs, which are naturally bent, should be straightened. To bind the baby tightly, with the whole body straight, like a mummy, was common practice. The babies were miserable, but since they were unable to talk they could not tell the physicians and mothers that it was perfectly natural for a baby to have its legs bent, that that posture was comfortable while the straightening of the legs was painful. This fad was due to the physicians' and mothers' fear that unless the babies' legs were artificially straightened, they would remain bent. Only after decades of such abuse of the infantile organism, which did untold damage to the children's emotional development, did they finally discover that the children learned to walk properly, and developed straight legs, even if they were allowed to hold their legs in such a way as they themselves found comfortable.

No sooner had this wrapping torture been abolished than a new torture was advocated with all the world's scientific authority. Famous European pediatricians—completely ignorant of the infant's pleasure function which they even asserted did not exist—suddenly found that the infant's organism, in its nutritional function, had to be guided according to "strictest scientific principles." According to these principles, the baby was to be nursed only so and so many times a day; this had to take place at prescribed times, not a minute earlier or later; the infant was not to get one gram more or less than what "science" prescribed. Again the infants protested with crying, but also, more seriously, with severe intestinal disturbances. But again, they could not express themselves directly.

A third torture is only now in process of going into oblivion: the tying of infants' hands for the prevention of their touching their genitals and of thumbsucking. This

torture had persisted over centuries and had made neurotics out of generations of people. It served only the satisfaction of a certain need on the part of the adults: they did not want to be reminded of their own infantile desires for thumbsucking and masturbation. It took a Freud and two generations of analytically enlightened pedagogues to start the fight against this torture. And yet, we are still far from the times when the infants' pleasure function will be given free development.

And now we are apparently witnessing another kind of torture. The infant, instead of looking up into the beautiful sky and into human faces, always has the white pillow in front of it. The infant's spinal column, instead of being allowed its natural rounded form, is forced into a lordosis, a pathological attitude which in this way is produced not only around puberty but already in infancy. If one inquires for the motive for this torture, one is informed that it is good for the "strengthening of the musculature of the neck and the back." One must ask why it is that science is so concerned exactly about the musculature of neck and back while not paying any attention to the musculature of the abdomen, pelvis and genitals. Would it not be better to utilize any of the well worked out methods of infant gymnastics, instead of producing this early lordosis?

There is good reason to distrust this concern over "the infant's well-being." The muscular attitude which is forced on the children is exactly the one which one finds in the adult in the form of chronically fixated rigidities of the musculature of neck, back and pelvis, with the corresponding lumbago, lordosis and skoliosis. It is the very muscular attitude which is at variance with the orgasm reflex and makes the orgasm reflex impossible. Such measures are extremely harmful. In reality, they are not determined by any concern for the child, but by irrational

motives. One has to agree with those physicians and teachers who strongly condemn such artificial and unnatural measures. Keeping infants arbitrarily lying on their stomachs has a devastating effect on their physical and emotional development. It should be our task to aid the natural functions of the body and not to inhibit them. Old experienced physicians consider the most important principle of the medical art that of "*nil nocere*," of not doing any harm, and to take a hand in the process only if nature cannot cope with it. Lying on the back is just as natural for the infant as having its legs bent in the hip and knee joints. If a baby, now and then, prefers to lie on its stomach, let it. But to force it to do so, because of some erroneous and preconceived idea, is another thing. Against such a dictatorial measure, which is bound to produce another generation of neurotics of a new type, those who are interested in the normal development of children must raise a vigorous protest.

#### REALIZATION OF CHANGE

Dear Editor:

I have always been interested in the graphic arts as a form of self-expression, and have studied something of the history of Art. Lately I have started to develop a latent aptitude for drawing and am studying the technique of water-color as a hobby.

Recently I was looking over some fine color reproductions of landscapes, portraits and nudes in an art portfolio belonging to a friend. As usual the landscapes held me spellbound, as my study has centered chiefly about landscape painting. The portraits I passed over rapidly as they seldom compel my attention. I attribute this fact to my present inability to understand the human face or to read lineal expression.

Then I came to the nudes. There were

several by Henner that were familiar to me and some that were unfamiliar. Suddenly I became aware of the fact that I was seeing these pictures in a new way. I was struck by the beauty of the feminine curves, the tenderness of the flesh tones, the soft line of neck, breast, hip and thigh. The unexpected emotional quality of my response amazed me so that I began to analyze it. I realized then that the vegetotherapy treatment I have been undergoing had brought about a profound change in my attitude toward the nude figure in Art. I will try to describe my former point of view as it is now apparent to me, in sharp contrast to my present attitude.

Formerly I used to wander somewhat aimlessly through galleries, feeling vaguely compelled by the beauty about me, academically interested in the styles of artists whose work I had studied, seeking out the pictures I recognized. Whenever I encountered a nude I paused with a sort of guilty excitement. The sense of guilt was so strong that I would be compelled to look about surreptitiously to see if anyone, particularly a man, were noticing my interest in the subject. I sensed then that my interest was pornographic, and for that reason was ashamed to tell anyone of my reactions to these pictures. I was also strongly drawn to pictures of women suckling their babies. Religious pictures of Madonna and Child seldom interested me unless they represented the Madonna with the Child at her breast. Incidentally, I felt "safe" in gazing my fill at these pictures because they were "religious." No one could possibly think me "sexy" for looking long and hard at a religious picture!

I feel now that my interest in these mother and baby pictures was due to my own empty and starved condition. So great was my need at times that I would go into a gallery with the express purpose of looking for such representations, feeling guilty at the thought of my object in being there. On such occasions I would hurry

feverishly past landscapes, portraits, famous primitives; nothing had the slightest power to hold me but such pictures as I have described, nudes or pictures representing a mother holding her child to her breast. Interestingly enough, I was guiltily aware of being more delighted with a picture showing the breast exposed through an opening in the dress than in a completely nude figure. I felt more "wicked" and excited at seeing a fully-dressed woman exposing her breast than a completely nude woman.

In contrast to this attitude, I return with relief to my present realization of change. I now see the artistic nude figure as a thing

of beauty, glowing with health, containing the vibrant meaning of life itself. Malvina Hoffman's "Column of Life" as pictured in her book, "Heads and Tales," now fills me with a heart-felt gratitude for the quickening experience that it affords me. My feeling when I look at that picture embodies all the growing serenity of mind and sense of true values that the vegetotherapy treatment is making possible for me. The realization of change is so startling that it seems hardly credible that it is *I* who am looking at these pictures with such insight and deep natural pleasure, unmarred by guilt or feverish excitement.

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## NOTES

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### ON THE TECHNIQUE OF IRRATIONALISM IN SOCIAL LIFE

The American movie film "Emile Zola" splendidly depicts the technique used by the emotional plague for the destruction of decent human beings. The charges of the military clique against Dreyfus went something like this: "Dreyfus worked very hard. Crime! He led a quiet family life. Crime! He studied eagerly the secrets of military science. Crime!" The fact is generally overlooked that this technique of defamation is not something which happens in rare and isolated cases, but it is a chronic and ubiquitous disease of our society.

In December 1941, Wilhelm Reich was arrested and detained in Ellis Island for over 3 weeks. This senseless procedure was probably the result of a denunciation. On January 5, 1942, he was unconditionally released, and his "case" was closed as far as the authorities were concerned.

Then, in May 1942, a friendly neighbor came over and related the following story: The day before, two plainclothes men had come to see him and had asked him whether he had noticed anything queer going on in Dr. Reich's house. They gave the neighbor the following details: Dr. Reich, they said, had given rise to all kinds of suspicions at the place where he had lived before (which was in the same suburb, only a few blocks away). For example, they said, he used to pay his rent promptly on the first of every month; where did he get the money? Sometimes there had been lights in his study until three o'clock in the morning. Sometimes, they said, one heard queer noises from his house; apparently he must be an "abortionist," a "Communist" or a "Fascist." In addition, he kept rabbits in his backyard. What was particularly suspicious, however, was the hedge around the place which he let grow very high. There had been quite a number of other queer goings-on there.

The neighbor, who knew about Reich's scientific and experimental work, told the detectives that Reich was devoting all his time and money to cancer research.

As Reich knew that such seemingly silly occurrences often enough can lead to serious consequences, he wrote to Police Commissioner Valentine of New York, advising him of the fact and asking whether it was true that a new investigation was under way. At the same time, he himself requested that another house search and an investigation of his activities be undertaken and definite charges be made against him should the facts warrant this.

A few days later, Reich was visited by a police official who reported that all police precincts had been questioned about the matter and that it was found that no police investigation of any kind was pending against him. Neither did the FBI or the District Attorney's office know anything about such an investigation. In other words, the two "police detectives" had been imposters. The official suggested that Reich keep in touch with the police and gave him the telephone numbers of the police offices where he should call if he were molested in any way.

This story is related here not only as an oddity, but as an example of the ways and means with which the people afflicted with the emotional plague fight against Reich's scientific work. These ways and means are exactly those which the Fascist pestilence employs everywhere in an attempt to defame and destroy its deadly enemies, *truth* and *decency*.

Thus far, the police have not succeeded in identifying the instigators of this machination. Undoubtedly, they are the same people or groups of people who instigated the infamous Norwegian press campaign in 1938 and the senseless arrest in New York in December 1941. It is only a question whether they are part of an organization or unconsciously Fascist mystic individuals. Their technique is simple. They take completely harmless everyday facts and relate them in such a manner as to make them somehow suspicious. The same fact, as well as its exact opposite, may equally well be used for the purpose. For example: "He always pays his rent promptly the first of the month (*where does he get the money*, is he perhaps a paid agent of Moscow? or an abortionist?" etc.) or, "He is always behind with his rent (*what does he do with his money*, perhaps finance Bund activities?" etc.).

In employing this technique, they make use of the neurotic mechanism of biopathic people who react to the scientific elaboration of natural sexual processes or to the description of new, unusual facts, with anxiety and animosity. This mechanism is an essential part of what is called "public opinion" and which, *erroneously*, is taken for rational judgment. This public opinion is, as a rule, the creation of a few neurotics who have failed in life and are unable to stand happiness in love in others and are unable to tolerate the search for truth or a behavior which is truly alive. Techniques of this kind, which the emotional plague has developed into a fine art, have hitherto not been understood.

Nor are there any rational measures against them. German Fascism has constantly made use of these techniques to confuse millions of people in all countries; with the help of this confusion it has come to power and has been able to secure its place. It is the very technique which made *the same people, before* Pearl Harbor, call Roosevelt a warmonger who was driving the American people into disaster, and who defamed him, *after* Pearl Harbor, by saying he had prepared for war too little and too late and was thus driving the country into disaster.

The workers of this Institute have been on the track of this technique of the Fascist emotional plague for a long time. It has been some time now since it revealed its secret. It is hoped that before long the means will be found to put a stop to these things.

## A. S. NEILL'S "THE PROBLEM TEACHER"

*Editor's note:* This continues the excerpts begun in the July issue, p. 180 ff.

## THE TEACHER AND THE SCHOOL SUBJECT

I have already suggested that the school subject is one of the means used by the State to prevent the child from being educated. It is a safety valve. The only dangerous subject is History, and the textbooks are so written that they are almost dangerproof. Fortunately the State cannot eliminate the teacher's adding his own version to that of the approved book unless it is a State of the totalitarian type with a terror behind its commands.

Both elementary and secondary schools fail to be educative because they only provide for the intellect and the memory. Education should be creative all the time, but every schoolmaster knows that his work is almost without creation. Only when creation is recognized as the only dynamic factor in education will our schools be real places of education. So long as learning poetry is preferred to writing verse: so long as reading Shakespeare is more important than writing a play: so long as vulgar fractions on a blackboard are of more moment than fractions used creatively in making something in wood or metal, our schools are failing to educate.

New pupils come to me with long Reports from their previous school.

Mathematics—fair.

English—some advancement on last term's work.

Drawing—very good, but is apt to be careless in detail.

General Behaviour—inclined to show off too much in class, but improving.

If I issued Reports at the end of term I should feel inclined to make them after this fashion:

Mathematics—lousy, but that doesn't matter.

English—his vocabulary has improved

since last term, but he should be warned against using it in Aunt Mary's presence.

History—haven't the least idea and have no wish to discover.

General Behaviour—his parents will find out how that is before he has been an hour in the house.

Now I am being skittish, yet I cannot see what attitude one can take up other than a humorous one. The whole subjects racket is a joke, only the specialists cannot see it, and the children dare not see it. When Smith Minor is fifty how much will it matter to him or anyone else what opinion his English teacher gave of him when he was twelve? Negatively it may matter a lot, for the millions of school reports that have been issued have helped to lower the self-confidence of millions of children, have given unnecessary fears to millions of children. This is known to all of you who carried home the damning Report to a father you knew would be irate. How many children have "lost" their Reports on the way home?

But it isn't the Report that is the culprit: the evil lies in the teachers' attitude to the subject. If Reports are to be retained I propose that they should be written by the children themselves, about themselves with an appendix about the teacher. Such a Report might run something like this:

"I hate Maths and the Maths Mistress is a beast. I like English because Mr. Brown lets us write gangster stories or anything we like. My history is pretty bloody, but Miss Green is so dreadfully dull with her tiresome talk about Roman Civilisation. Handwork is O.K. in a way, but we aren't allowed to make what we want to. Who wants to make a pen tray? I want to make guns and aeroplanes. I

loathe drawing since Miss X came because she keeps breathing down the back of my neck all the time. Worse still she eats garlic."

What an excellent thing it would be for schools if the children were allowed to write Reports of their own! How spring-cleaning! How disastrous to century-old cobwebs! How exhilarating to subjects specialists! Alas, most of the Reports would be lies: even if they could be published in a School Magazine anonymously, each critical child would fear that anonymity would fail to protect from staff vengeance.

#### THE TEACHER AND SEX

It is a human right of everyone who has reached sexual maturity to have a sex life. Today this can only be had in marriage, and all extra-marital relationships are condemned by law and morality. Owing to the marriage stipulation many teachers have no sex life at all. There are thousands of women who, for one reason or another, have never found or taken a husband, and many of these women teach in our schools, indeed the more respectable a girls' boarding school is, the more spinsters are on the staff. Men teachers have sometimes to work for years before they can afford to marry and set up house. Owing to the respectability of their profession they cannot easily have a sex life that is taboo in the eyes of morality. The teacher in the big city may have comparatively safe opportunities, but the teacher in a small town or village has too many eyes to evade.

Let us consider the consequences, the price society pays for its sexual morality. Repressed sex always becomes converted into something else, often anxiety, sometimes nervous breakdown, probably sometimes physical breakdown, often just pure irritation and hate of life. Anxiety is the commonest direction that repressed sex takes.

In our moral society we have not only the daydreaming of the children during a lesson: we have also the phantasying of the sex-starved teacher. This is often attached to fear of authority, and such teachers live in dread that the head will come into the room and catch them bending. A sex life does not abolish fear: it abolishes the neurotic fear, the phobia. Fear of bombs is not neurotic but fear of mice or spiders is. Fear of school inspectors in the days when they had the power over the teacher's salary was a real fear; fear of an inspector today is an unreal fear. It is an emotion attached to the wrong thing. This is another evil result of sex suppression: the sex emotion is transferred from its original, unattained or unattainable object, and it can attach itself in a negative form to other objects, children perhaps. Only a teacher who is not having a sex life will flare up if a child writes a sexual word on the wall.

It is one of the tragedies of education that a married woman is not allowed to teach. Not that marriage itself is an exact criterion: many married women never get a full sexual satisfaction owing to their inhibitions or to the inhibitions of their husbands. A married woman, however, has at least the chance of a sex life whereas her unmarried sister has none.

This brings up the vexed question of women teaching boys. The usual argument is that they cannot keep control. I say control be damned. Children should be taught by both sexes. Boys require a mother substitute, girls a father substitute. The difficulty is that today these substitutes are so often without a sex life. One result is that the teacher of either sex has an unconscious sexual attitude to the children. This is seen in favouritism. Sometimes an unmarried man will attach his emotions to an attractive little girl in his class; sometimes the unmarried woman teacher has a like attitude to a boy. Sometimes the emotion is so strong that when the favourite is

absent the day's work is dull and tiresome. I hasten to say that this emotion is never conscious, at least the underlying sex emotion is never conscious. It is a fact that emotion can be quite dissociated from age, and a man of forty can have a "pash" on a girl of ten, because the man of forty whose adult sex life is not in order, regresses to emotions long past. This follows easily because in childhood sex and love are frowned on so much that early fixations are formed, fixations that live on till death. . . . In the case of the sex-repressed teacher the temptation to break away may be weakened by the constant association with the family in the form of many little brothers and sisters.

One of the great dangers connected with the sex-inhibited teacher is that of conversion of sex energy into jealousy. I found in myself that my anxiety lest two young people should sleep together had, as its main root, my own infantile jealousy. I know of a large girls' school where the staff shows its dislike of visible breasts, and the girls come to be ashamed if they do not look like flat-chested boys. This is not only caused by jealousy on the part of the sex-starved women: it has another root also—it springs from the scorn of sex that the unsexed person develops. "Any-way sex is an overrated thing. We must do all we can to ignore its existence."

It may be masculine arrogance on my part when I say that women teachers who have no sex life are more dangerous to children than men teachers in the same predicament. A woman who has let her youth slip by without having a sex life, has little opportunity of beginning one when her peach-like charm has gone. Hence the oldish woman renounces sex as unattainable, while the oldish bachelor hopefully glances at the ankles of the young girls. Lack of a sex life seems to lead to more irritation in a woman than in a man.

What is then the solution? That only

married teachers should be allowed to deal with children? Do we not all know married teachers who are as bad as unmarried ones? Haven't you and I known scores of married headmasters who were cruel brutes, married women who were shrews?

That brings me back to the theories of Dr. Wilhelm Reich. I have already mentioned his belief that repressions show themselves in the muscles, appearing as stiffness and cramping. These repressions are primarily sexual, so that all the muscles of the body are, as it were, fortifications guarding the sexual apparatus from danger. When the child is corrected morally he stiffens his stomach. I took that with a large grain of salt when I first heard it from Reich, but on examining the small children of Summerhill I was astonished to find that the ones who had been brought up without morality had soft stomachs, while the children of the religious and moral had stiff stomachs.

Reich contends that because of sex prohibitions few men and women in a civilised country ever get the fullest enjoyment from the sex act. He holds that muscle tension prevents a true orgasm reflex. The result is that many women have sexual intercourse without a real orgasm (a fact that every doctor and psychologist has known for years). Many men perform the act without getting the enjoyment they desire, and not infrequently one hears a man or woman say: "It's an overrated pastime."

Reich's theory is the only one that explains the reason why married life is so often unsatisfactory. It explains the raging virago of a wife who nags all day long; it explains the husband who seeks pleasure out of his home most of the time, and I don't mean only sex pleasure, I mean his darts and clubs and hobbies. Married life is not synonymous with love life, indeed, marriage is the greatest obstacle that love can meet, for marriage involves per-

manency, and love cannot be made permanent by law: love should be free.

So long as love is unfree, marriage will be accepted as the only respectable means of having a love life. That marriage is the greatest danger to love is certain: its possession, its bondage, the economic dependence of the wife on the husband, these are all fatal to love, because marriage is static and love is dynamic. Emotion can be repressed but it cannot be destroyed. If Mrs. X falls in love with Mr. Y her social surroundings may prohibit her from ever consummating that love, and the price is a heavy one: her married life must become a lie, her sex life with her husband must be an unhappy prostitutionary one, her children, infected by her unhappiness, must suffer and be unhappy. Worst of all she is haunted by a sense of guilt, even though she has never kissed the man she loves. It is the story of a million women, of a million men. It is the story that explains why countless women find the sexual act unpleasant, why countless men find it unsatisfactory. Marriage is the surest way of converting love into lust.

Love is lust with tenderness added. In love both parties have the same tenderness to each other after sexual intercourse as before. If love is absent the man generally wants to get away from the woman after the act. Under a sane sex morality love would be the only criterion of sex behaviour: men and women would sleep together solely because they wanted each other, and no third party would have any right to interfere or to forbid.

However, since we do not live in Utopia, we must look at things as they are today. In our schools stand thousands of teachers who either accept morality or feel themselves confined and confined by it. How does their attitude affect the children?

It is not easy to say. What a child acquires unconsciously is still a hidden secret, only partly guessed at. One thing is

certain, however, that the unconscious of the teacher does in a mysterious way affect the unconscious of the child. A sex-repressed headmistress will quite unconsciously give her girls a guilty feeling about sex. The mere fact that sex as a topic is taboo in school denotes that the new generation, having no education on the subject, is forced to accept the current morality of sex. True there are teachers who try as well as they can to obviate this by giving sex instruction about the bees and the pollen. One young man of my acquaintance tells me he feels like blushing when the word pollen crops up in conversation: it is obscene to him. Sex instruction can get nowhere until we tell children truthfully that the chief element in sex is pleasure, for it is the pleasure of sex that makes it taboo.

Reich's view of sex repression has wide social significance. . . . His book *Der sexuelle Kampf der Jugend* (The sex battle of youth) will, I hope, soon be available in English. In this book he emphasises the misery of sex among the young, how that they have no place for love, how that as a substitute for love they seek furtive, unsatisfactory sex congress in corners and lanes; how that they are mostly ignorant of preventives and in any case are too poor to supply them. It is the book of a brave fighter for freedom, a book that has raised more hate and passion than any book I know. Reich wants to see a new morality, founded on love and not on vested interests and possession.

If Reich's analysis of society is right, and personally I believe it is, what harm is being done by the teachers' acceptance of conventional sex morality? The schools are producing not only wage slaves but sex slaves. Sex is the creative force in life and our revolutionaries hope to remake the world by ignoring it, hope to remake it by their heads alone. Rebels with a sense of guilt are handicapped from the word go. This is why so many rebels are haters;

they hate the rich rather than love the poor; they hate not as free men but as bound men. They think that their chains are from Capitalism and they are quite unaware that the strongest chains are those of their own repressions, not only sex repressions but spiritual repressions.

Sex repression and economic suppression allow much emotion to go to seed, so that when a Hitler comes along the emotion can be showered on him. Emotion for a Hitler is fundamentally the same emotion that goes to religion. In some of his followers it is an emotion of worship. It is not without significance that the South German greeting has changed from *Grüss Gott* to *Heil, Hitler*. The coming war will be to many a holy crusade, and as long as we have an unattached emotion, we shall have our Hitlers and wars and poverty and exploitation.

I have wandered far away from the school and the teacher. That is as it should be, for the teacher's job is only partly in the school. He is part of society and if society is what I have described it as being, he is part of the whole suppressive complex that is a conspiracy against human nature and human pleasure. And by sticking only to his school subjects he is helping to perpetuate that society; he is helping to bolster up a civilisation that denies economic and sexual freedom to human beings.

If the teacher's attitude to sex is a limited one he is not in the position to understand or to help children with sex difficulties. The teacher with a guilty conscience about masturbation cannot help the child with a like conscience. The so-called dull child who daydreams his class life away is so often the child who cannot solve the awful problem: Is sex sinful or not? All the discipline or talking in the world cannot help such a child, but the sympathetic understanding of the teacher can. Worries about sex take up more of a child's libido than all the school subjects

in the world. The teacher who fears to face the sex question sees only the ability or inability to do arithmetic or to behave well in class. He sees only the outer shell of the child.

Many people indignantly assert that too much importance is attached to the sex question. They declare that children are not obsessed by sex. I once taught in a co-educational school in London, where the pupils were all of good middle class. In two years I never heard a sexual word, indeed, I discovered that boys of fifteen did not know the vulgar words for excrement or even the sex organs. I was greatly puzzled but light dawned upon me when the headmaster held a long lecture on the enormity of a boy of nine's kissing a girl of eight. But I did not realise how much the apparent sexlessness of the middle class was a myth until I had a school of my own. I find that children of five from middle class homes react to freedom by showing an intense interest in sexual and excremental affairs, so much so that their language is sometimes awkward when the wrong type of visitor is being shown round the school.

... a question that teachers often ask me: "Is it necessary for a teacher to be psychoanalysed?" Hitherto I have answered: "Yes. You can't deal with others if you are unaware of your own unconscious." I have lost my certainty now. I have been saying for years that psychology could not advance far until it joined up with physiology, until body and soul were seen as a unity. That is why Reich interested me: he was the first psychologist I had met who considered the body at the same time as he considered the psyche.

One difficulty is that there are so few books that can really help the teacher to an understanding of child psychology. Books on psychoanalysis usually deal with more or less pathological cases. The teacher should study all schools, taking from each what he feels he can accept. He should be

warned that his own repressed attitude to sex may make him overvalue the psychology of Dr. Alfred Adler, a doctrine that is apt to attract the timid ones whom Freud scared away with his sex theory. But now that Freudianism is so respectable, Adlerianism may begin to lose ground, for Freudianism only shows up causes; it does not translate its theories into action. Reich says: "If we free sex repressions, what then? What is the patient going to do about sex activity? How can our youth have a sex life even if they get rid of their repressions? They have no facilities. Therefore we should aim at changing society so that sex can be free." The Freudian would say: "That is not our affair. I deal with the individual, and it is not my job to help him to a sex life; all I do is to show him what is behind his lack of sexual satisfaction, and then he can do what he likes. It isn't for me to advise him in any way. Nor is it my province to reform society so that sex repression will be abolished."

I have an uneasy feeling that the Freudian fears freedom as much as the Calvinist did. Freud was welcomed in England as a distinguished refugee; Reich has been driven from country to country. It is always a dangerous thing to advocate real freedom.

#### THE TEACHER AND HIS DIGNITY

The gulf between a teacher and his pupils is very similar to that between officers and men in the army, and it has the same basis . . . familiarity breeds contempt, and discipline and obedience are undermined. In the army and the classroom we find the servile "Sir"; we find similar commands.

Respect is an enemy of sincerity in life. It is a word I personally should like to see taken out of the dictionary, if taking it out of the dictionary could miraculously abolish what it stands for. It stands for fear and nothing else. It is impossible to associate it with love, for love can only exist

between equals. Dignity is the means by which a teacher demands respect.

Instead of preaching against dignity I shall describe how a school runs without a scrap of dignity on the part of the staff, and in consequence, not an iota of respect from the pupils. The staff is addressed by Christian names. Nicknames flourish most easily in a disciplined school, surreptitiously of course, and we have never had in Summerhill any craze for them. The younger children call Parsons the hand-work teacher Snips or Nippers, but the older ones call him George. To the children and the maids I am Neill. Shakespeare didn't know what he was talking about when he said that there was nothing in a name: there is everything in a name. The gulf between George and Mr. Someone is a very, very wide one.

When a child calls his teacher George he is free from fear. When a teacher accepts being called George he is free from dignity. Then we have a situation in which the personality of the teacher cannot stand between the child and the work.

This is important. Work should always be done with a single aim—the acquiring of knowledge or skill or both. When a "respected" personality stands between a child and his work, the work is no longer one of a single aim: it becomes a constellation of teacher plus work. In Summerhill work is never done because of the teacher's personality. There is no desire to please the teacher.

It is noteworthy that people of real dignity are never dignified. The wife of a profiteer displays much more dignity than a duchess, naturally, because she is unsure of herself. . . . The class explanation of dignity is not the whole story. There is the psychological side. The temptation to wear a psychological top hat is in every one of us, and boiled down, the teacher's dignity comes from his belief that his is a top hat job. His is the dignity of the boy who has attained to long trousers.

No man or woman ever grows up. The main reason for this is that no child is allowed to live out its playhood, but another reason is that no child is allowed to satisfy completely its childhood curiosity about life. This is seen in the average adult's finding of humor in watercloset stories, or in sex stories. It is seen in the adult's delight in cartoon pictures of destruction, and in slapstick comedy of the screen.

The dignity of the teacher is his defense against his betrayal of his innate childishness. He is the cripple boy who could not go with the band that followed the Pied Piper to the never-never land. The child in him has the same attitude to schoolbooks as the children in his class have; he has the same longing for freedom that the children have. He dimly feels that one touch of real humanity would blow the educational system sky high. That is why he must always have perfect control over the pupils and over himself. That is why he must be so very careful in his language, never allowing the suggestion of slang or vulgarity.

Tidiness is also a form of dignity, of attempted grown-upness. The inherent interest in science is killed in thousands of children by the stupid insistence that they write out every experiment neatly in an exercise book. The only excuse for neatness is utility; a garage finds it more useful to have its nuts and bolts arranged in boxes according to size than to have them all mixed up. A teacher should have one box for pencils and another for pens, but he should not give the children a divided

mind that will have science in one box and the description of science in another.

Tidiness has this in common with grammar that it exaggerates the means at the expense of the end. Tidiness is dignity applied to objects. Children when left to themselves have no use for tidiness. That is because a child sees in the object only a means to an end, and that is why children are often so annoying to adults when they use, as means, things that the adult values or overvalues.

That dignity and tidiness are related is seen in the value that is attached to dress. It is significant that the teachers in Summerhill dress carelessly in old clothes with open-necked shirts, while State teachers have to appear at work in decent clothes. That is explained by the fact that dress and dignity are external things, hiding nakedness.

It would not be true to say that the teaching profession is overdressed, or even consciously interested in dress. What I am complaining of is that the profession is not interested in undress. If our schools were staffed by teachers who wore open-necked shirts and shorts, the dignity of the profession would be automatically lessened.

The urgent need is that teachers become human, that they become members of the gang, that they identify themselves with their pupils, that they renounce all claim to be superior in any way. Their dignity is a barrier that must be broken down if the next generation is to have any chance of facing life more bravely and honestly than our generation has done.

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